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JOHN MILTON

AREOPAGITICA

WITH

A Critical Introduction,
Notes and Comments

AND

A FOREWORD

BY

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FOREWORD

In the history of English Liberalism, four literary documents will always claim a place of honour, and among these Milton's *Areopagitica* heads the list. These four documents are :

- (1) Milton's *Areopagitica*, 1644.
- (2) Locke's *Epistola De Tolerantia* (*Letter on Toleration*) *In Latin* : translated into English by Popple in 1689).
- (3) J. S. Mill's *Liberty*, 1859.
- (4) John Morley's *On Compromise*, 1874.

Between the second and the third of these publications great events had taken place and social opinion entirely revolutionized. Yet the fight for freedom was not complete and was vastly assisted by Mill's original and creative ideas and Morley's moderate and firm but well-reasoned demand for freedom.

So Milton's fight is for the liberty of thought and expression, and there was no particular reason to give the book the peculiar title he gave it. He called it the *Areopagitica* because he loved Greek (cf. the titles of some of his other tracts, e.g., *Tertrachordon*, *Eikonoklastes*, etc.) and he called it *Areopagitica*, because his book was meant to be a written speech, like those of Isocrates, who was more of a teacher of oratory and a maker of orators than being an

orator himself. Now Isocrates wrote a *Panegyricus*, but Milton's speech could not go under this name, except by an irony, though Milton does begin his speech with a panegyric of Parliament and ends it with a panegyric of the British Nation. Milton might have called it *Panegyrica* after the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates, but he preferred the title *Areopagitica* from the *Areopagitikos Logos* of that Greek rhetorician : for the contents of the book are a criticism and not a laudation of his compatriots.

And yet *Areopagitica* is such a quaint title for Milton's book,—so full of sound with so little of fury in it,—I say it of the *title* and not of the *book*,—which indeed has all the flourish of oratorical declamation with all the fury of passion in it. Yet there is a certain misapplication in the title, which in the heat of his passion, Milton did not clearly see, being full of admiration for "that old man eloquent" whom the news of Chaeronea killed, though not quite in the same sense in which we say the loss of Calais killed Queen Mary the First, or the defeat at Austerlitz killed William Pitt the Second or that at Panipat killed the Peshwa of the day. Now "the old man eloquent"—Isocrates—addressed his written speech to the *Boule*, (or Senate) of Athens, urging them to give up their ultra-democratic, ultra-demagogic spirit and revive the languishing powers and privileges of the time-honoured *Areopagus* of Athens, while Milton is addressing himself to the *Areopagus* of England and calling upon them to march forward in the direction of liberation and the democratic spirit. The address of Isocrates is a plea *for* the *Areopagus* of his day and Milton's is a plea *to* the *Areopagus* of his age. Isocrates wrote in the interest of a conservative and obsolescent *Areopagus*, Milton wrote to an *Areopagus* whom he accused of too much conservatism in the matter of the liberty of thought and expression. Between the "young

man eloquent" that Milton was at the time of his *Areopagitica* and the "old man eloquent" that Isocrates was when he wrote his *Areopagiticus*, there is another point of contact. They were both lovers of liberty and yet they could love a dictator. *Before the Areopagiticus Logos* Isocrates praised Philip of Macedon and wanted to unite all the Greeks under him,—only Chaeronea shattered this dream and disillusioned him, while *after his Areopagitica*, Milton adored his Cromwell and wished all England to unite under him. Lovers of liberty have sometimes loved dictators; as we see in Europe nowadays. *En dore*

In this discourse, Milton attacks an ordinance of his beloved *Areopagus*—the Lords and Commons of England,—who on June 14, 1643 promulgated an edict "that no book . . . shall be henceforth printed unless the same be first approved and licensed" by a body of men to be appointed for the purpose. Milton shows first that in reviving the licensing system, Parliament were unfortunately taking a leaf from the practice of people they hated most and now by imitating they were flattering those they hated, that is to say, the Presbyterian majority in Milton's *Areopagus* were now shaking hands with the Papacy and the Inquisition and walking in the foot-steps of Archbishop Laud and Lord Strafford. Look at the Bible, he said, for unfortunately in Milton's days, all demonstration and evidence had to be taken from scriptural or patristic authority—Moses, Daniel, St. Paul, the Fathers of the Church, what do they teach us? By precept and by example, they enjoin freedom in the pursuit of knowledge. They teach us that promiscuous reading is a necessity for the constituting of human virtue. Milton next proceeds to show that this licensing system will prove useless because while discouraging good literature, it will be powerless to suppress vice, which will enter

in by many other ways, such as the people's ballads and dances, and if the principle were accepted to regulate all these, no end of licensers will have to be appointed. Besides considering the vast range of subjects on which books may be written, it will be difficult to get men really qualified to act as licensers. Where will you get a body of infallible men to judge all things or even anything? The fourth argument is that the licensing system is not only *useless* : it is *pernicious*. It goes against the propagation of truth, which to the scholar is the highest merchandise. It is a mistake to suppose that the Reformation in England has risen to its highest potentiality. But the licensing system will have the result of prohibiting the importation of new truths and will impose a dull, lifeless conformity in religious thought, which will be like a stagnant pool. The preachers and parsons will no longer be interested in bringing original thought to bear on their work, but in their sermons, they will serve the same old rehash by dressing up old sermons, and teaching the old, old scriptural thoughts by using synopses, breviaries, interlinearies, and "other loitering gear" i.e. aids and guides to a lazy career as pastors in a church. On the other hand freedom is the soil in which truth and virtue thrive. In the Peroration, Milton adjures Parliament to remember England's past reputation for learning, which stands in danger of being extinguished by imposing this licensing system imported from the Church of Rome.

Milton's plea is for liberty of thought and expression. Locke's plea is for liberty of religious opinion and worship. Both these advocates of liberty make an exception *against* the Catholic Church. Milton will not encourage Jesuitical propaganda, which rightly or wrongly he is convinced is wrong and mischievous, but before suppressing it, he would

first try to convince the Catholics by argument—and in the last resort he would suppress their teaching by force. Locke champions the cause of the Dissenters, but he would have nothing to do with the Catholics, whom he accused of anti-national tendencies and as conspiring to defy the sovereignty of the English people. Milton would certainly not tolerate “blasphemous” books. Locke would not give any toleration to declared atheists, nor indeed to any opinions contrary to human society or rules of moral conduct that keep together society. Mill and Morley, writing after the Catholic Emancipation, want their ideal of liberty to be at the service of all. They will not circumscribe liberty to particular religious denominations. They naturally take a far broader view than writers of the seventeenth century like Milton and Locke. These latter lived in an atmosphere of religious controversy and could never take a generous view about the Catholics. Mill and Morley were free from all religious trammels, atheism or agnosticism being their only religion. *Passionate*

Milton's discussion of the subject of the liberty of thought and speech is therefore far from dispassionate. Very passionate it is from start to finish. Though very eloquently expressed and breathing a love of Truth, Mill's work is lacking in philosophical detachment. Mill's work on the other hand is a calm and dispassionate study of the philosophy of Liberty. An examination of the ~~second~~ and third chapters of Mill's treatise on *Liberty* will make this clear. These chapters are much the finest part of Mill's book, and serve as an inspiration for all who care for personality, whether they are Protestants or Catholics, individualists or socialists. Mill's great reverence is for individuality and his great argument is that it is Liberty and Liberty alone that (1) develops personality, and (2) leads

to the free play of genius, and (3) in consequence produces a variety of character and talent on the expansion of which the greatness and welfare of a nation depend, which object cannot be secured by the rut of convention and tradition in which a society that suppresses individual liberty is bound to move, since in its case external authority and *ex cathedra* judgments take the place of free thought and spontaneous action.

John Morley accepts Mill's views in full, especially those that are set forth in the second and third chapters of Mill's *Liberty*, but in Chapter VI of his *On Compromise*, Morley pays a glowing tribute to Milton. In fact Morley says that Mill's essay on *Liberty* is "little more than an enlargement, though an important enlargement, of the principles of the still more famous *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing* with which Milton ennobled English literature two centuries before. Morley's analysis of the *Areopagitica* is indeed luminous, and so luminous indeed that notwithstanding any charge of repeating any of the statements made above, it will be of interest to quote it here. Says Morley :

“Milton contended for free publication of opinion mainly on these grounds : First, that the opposite system (i.e. *the Licensing System*) implied the “grace of infallibility and incorruptibleness” in the licensers. Second, that the prohibition of bold books led to mental indolence and stagnant formalism both in teachers and congregations, producing the ‘laziness of a licensing church.’ Third, that it ‘hinders and retards the importation of our richest merchandise, truth’ for the commission of the licenser enjoins him to let nothing pass which is not vulgarly received already, and ‘if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself, whose first appear-

ance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unpalatable than many errors, even as the person is of many a great man, slight and contemptible to see to.' Fourth, that freedom is in itself an ingredient of true virtue, and 'they are not skilful considerers of human things who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin; that virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her virtue is but an excremental virtue, which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, describing true temperance under the form of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon and the tower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know and abstain.'

Morley on Mill

Morley deduces Mill's pleas in defence of the necessity of freedom from the above contentions of Milton. He says Mill's grounds are virtually contained in Milton's. Mill's four grounds are (1) that the *suppressed* opinion may be true; (2) it may contain a portion of truth, essential to supplement the prevailing opinion; (3) that the vigorous contesting of opinions that are even wholly true, is the only way of preventing them from sinking to the level of uncomprehended prejudices; and (4) without such contesting, the doctrine will lose its vital effect on character and conduct.

Mill and Milton:

Mill, however, places a far greater stress on *character* than Milton, while Milton may be found to stress *conduct* more than *character*. Mill's strongest argument,—already referred to above—is that "Individuality is one of the most valuable elements of well-being, and you can only be sure

of making the most of individuality, if you have an atmosphere of freedom, encouraging free development and expansion".

This is really an advance on what Milton tells us of the effects of the licensing system on character and conduct. Morley himself lays even greater stress than Mill upon the welfare of a nation depending on a variety of talent which can flourish only in an atmosphere of liberty. ~~We need not go beyond India for an illustration of this truth.~~

Milton does *not* go like Mill into a philosophical disquisition on what action or opinions may rightly be repressed. "The sole end or purpose," says Mill, "for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection". That is to say, an individual may be rightly repressed if he tries *directly* to harm (1) another individual, or (2) other individuals, or (3) the nation itself in a collective state. This view, however, seems implied in *Areopagitica*. Now this *self-protection*, as enunciated in the above proposition will often be a matter for practical consideration—and different men will differ widely from each other in deciding what actions or the dissemination of what opinions will have to be suppressed by a nation or society for its own protection.

As regards the solution of this practical problem—for it is a practical problem, on which different men will have different opinions—all that can be said in the abstract is that even where a nation's self-protection is at stake, a certain differential scale of indulgence will have to be observed. Liberty of *thought* has probably the widest claim upon a nation's indulgence and even the bogie of self-protection should not be allowed to lead, or rather mislead the society into repression. Less indulgence than to thought

or opinion is due to *speech*, or writing or printing or other modes of the expression of thought—and the *least* of all to *action*. Action may be more readily interfered with than expression and thought or opinion least of all. Here again practical difficulties arise as the expression of opinion is often immediately followed upon by action, and in these cases, emergencies will often arise as in time of war when every nation tries to bring out a DORA ("Defence of the Realm Act") for its own protection and can have little patience to differentiate between Thought and Word, and Word and Action.

Milton's *Areopagitica* will please both (1) the student who has a passion to think for himself and yet wants to be stirred by emotion into thought, and (2) the student who has an ear for subtle rhythms of prose. It is altogether a great book, which the world "will not willingly let die"—to use one of Milton's own expressions. The thought in it may be old, but finds fresh application in the events of everyday life. For whether they will or no, it is a temptation for governments to be led into headlong repression. To people that have the misfortune to live in such an age-long atmosphere of repression, Milton's words are bound to be fresh and invigorating like ozone, in their sluggish inertia,—nay, they will come with all the freedom and freshness and exhilaration of a pine-forest in the wilds of the Alps or the Himalayas, the aptest symbols of individual independence to the natives, whether of Asia or Europe. From this point of view, I welcome this Indian Edition of a great English Classic for Indian readers, written in a language they love next to their own mother-tongue.

H. P. T. College,
Nasik,
15th June, 1942.

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N. S. TAKAKHAV

INTRODUCTION

I.—The Life of John Milton (1608-1674).

The Life of Milton falls into four periods, as follows :—

- (1) Early Life, 1608-1625.
- (2) College and Country Life and Travel, and the *Early Poems*, 1625-1640.
- (3) Period of Religious and Political Controversy, 1640-1660.
- (4) Period of the Great Poems, 1660-1674.

In studying the *Areopagitica*, we are intimately interested in the third period of Milton's life, but naturally, we have to consider Milton's life as a whole. We must therefore make a rapid survey of his Early Life, his College and Country Life and the Early Poems and the great Epic Period of physical darkness in his blind old age, when his mind was illumined with a spiritual light in whose glory we in the twentieth century can still walk.

As we shall have to take a wider view of Milton's third period—of prose tracts and pamphlets, we will survey in this part of the *Introduction* mainly the other periods.

(1) *First Period : Early Life.*

John Milton was born in Bread Street, London, on the ninth of December 1608,—that is to say a little less than eight years before the death of Shakespeare. Thus the early childhood of Milton coincided with the mature work of the great dramatist and the few years of retirement and ease at his birth-place, Stratford-on-Avon, which the great wizard enjoyed after his strenuous labours for the English Theatre. The poet's father, John Milton, was a prosperous London scrivener, a profession to which Shakespeare's predecessor Thomas Kyd seems to have belonged. The poet's mother bore the maiden name of Sarah Caston. She bore three children to her husband, John the poet, Christopher (who rose to be a baronet and an eminent lawyer) and a daughter named Anne. The poet's father was born of a comparatively wealthy Catholic family, but he early forsook the paternal religion, was disinherited, and forced to earn his own living as a scrivener, made a competence, and retired from his profession in fairly prosperous circumstances. The poet inherited from his father a rooted dislike to Catholicism. Himself foiled in his hopes of acquiring a good university education, the father sought the nearest compensation by giving the best of education to his eldest son, the poet-to-be. The father was a pious and self-made but cultured man, and like the father of John Ruskin wished his son to enter the Church and one day or other become a bishop in the Anglican Church. Like Ruskin's father he was disappointed, but not so much as the other. Ruskin's father was sorry that his son would not write poetry, when he wanted him to be a poet like Byron. Milton's father found the son could excel in both departments, verse as well as prose.

The father chose as his son's first tutor a Puritan divine, Thomas Young—not a suitable choice indeed if he wanted the son to become a member of the Anglican Hierarchy. For Thomas Young saw to it that his youthful pupil should turn a Puritan like himself,—and Puritanism always remained young in the poet even in extreme old age. But as for scholarship and intellectual training no better choice could have been made. Thomas Young became afterwards a chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburg.

Later the poet was entered as a day-scholar at St. Paul's School, which he attended for four or five years. Before he left the school he had made good progress in Latin and Greek. He knew some Hebrew, and he had also, on his father's advice, studied French and Italian. Of his pre-college days Milton writes as follows in the *Second Defence of the English People* :—

"My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of literature ; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious, that from twelve years of age, I hardly ever left my studies, or went to bed before midnight. This primarily led to my loss of sight. My eyes were naturally weak, and I was subject to frequent headaches ; which, however, could not chill the ardour of my curiosity, or retard the progress of my improvement. My father had me daily instructed in the grammar-school, and by other masters at home. He then after I had acquired a proficiency in various languages, and had made a considerable progress in philosophy, sent me to the University of Cambridge." [Dr. Hiram Corson's Translation from the Latin.]

Thus according to his own confession, even in early boyhood, he had been used to turn his nights into day, for purposes of study and when he was barely forty-five, nature took a savage revenge and turned his days into

night. The great epics of his last period were written under a total eclipse of sun and moon at eve or morn, so far as he was personally concerned, but there was illumination in his soul. Already as a school-boy he had developed a taste for philosophy, of which he was to sing in *Comus* :

"How sweet is divine philosophy,
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
But sweet as is Apollo's lute",—

though in his last period—that of the Epics, he was disillusioned with Apollo's lute and its sweetness and could exclaim on its uselessness—"Vain wisdom all and false philosophy !"

Already at school Milton had shown some facility at writing verses, but of these early days only two translations of the *Psalms* have come down to us, *Psalm* 114 and *Psalm* 136. Diodati, the Italian friend, to whom Milton later on addressed some poems and letters was one of Milton's school mates.

(2) *The Second Period.*

A.—AT CAMBRIDGE.

On February 12, 1625—six weeks before the accession of King Charles I—Milton was removed to Cambridge and admitted as a "pensioner" of Christ's College. At this time, he showed considerable skill in the Latin language ; and it was subsequently said by those who were most capable of forming a judgment, that he was one of the first Englishmen who after the Renaissance wrote Latin verses with classic elegance. For seven years Milton continued to study at Cambridge, taking his B.A. degree in 1628-29 and the M.A. degree in July, 1632. But whether from capricious perverseness, or dislike of a supposed injustice

INTRODUCTION

ous severity of the college authorities, he conceived a rooted antipathy to the university and was impatient for a release from its jurisdiction. The design which his father had certainly in mind—and which the poet himself had for a time entertained—that he should take orders was entirely relinquished and Milton returned to his father at Horton in Buckinghamshire, where the scrivener had retired on a personally acquired estate of his own, and there he chiefly employed himself in studying Greek and Roman authors and occasionally indulging himself in the composition of English Verse.

John Aubrey in his notes on Milton reports that the poet received unkind treatment—whipping!—from his first tutor at Cambridge, one Mr. Chapell and was afterwards transferred to another tutor Tovell [Tovey]. He describes Milton at college as of middle stature, with auburn hair and an oval face, with grey eyes, and an exceedingly fair complexion on which account he was called the *Lady of Christ College*. Milton confirms the latter statement himself in *Prolusiones Oratoriae*, VI, where he says:—"By some of you [i.e. the auditors or fellow-students] I used lately to be nicknamed *The Lady*" (Masson's Translation). Milton proceeds to argue against the bad taste in grammar in calling a male a lady and suggests he was so called because he wouldn't drink tankards of ale or snore at mid-day like them.

The *Prolusiones Oratoriae* to one of which a reference is made above were academic exercises in Latin in the form of speeches, which in the opinion of recent critics throw a good deal of light on Milton's life. They have been translated by Masson, and recently by Miss Phyllis B. Tillyard with a commentary by Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard. They serve to explain why Milton did not find his Cambridge life so

congenial. He did not like Aristotle, whom Milton calls in these exercises the "rival and constant calumniator of Pythagoras and Plato". The education in Milton's days was based on the medieval system of disputation, and these disputations were based on the old scholastic philosophy, which Milton disliked. Milton's *Third Prolusion* is an open attack on the system of education pursued at Cambridge.

Even during his Cambridge days, Milton wrote a number of Latin pieces and the following English poems :--

- (1) *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, 1626. (Milton's first original poem in English).
- (2) *At a Vacation Exercise*, 1628.
- (3) *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 1629. (Certainly the first great English poem from the pen of Milton, then only 21 years of age. It is a "metaphysical" poem in the style of Donne and Cowley. The skilful construction shows that Milton was already an artist. The work is marked by some conceits and fantasies characteristic of his age, but absent from his maturer poems. The blending of Christian and classical thought which we see in this poem remained with him to the end).
- (4) An unfinished piece on *The Passion*.
- (5) The first two of his Sonnets.
- (6) *The song on May Morning*, (This gives us a foretaste of the spirit of *L'Allegro*).
- (7) The lines *On Shakespeare*, (In this we discern some of the most striking qualities of Milton's style).
- (8) *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*. (In the metre of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* with some of the gracefulness of language of those poems).

- (9) *On Time*. (This *might* have been written either at Cambridge or at Horton, and
- (10) *At a Solemn Music*. (This *may* be placed in the Horton period. But probably it may be dated 1630).

The second Sonnet closes the list of Milton's compositions at Cambridge, and, with the spirit of liberty it breathes, it is in a way a prelude to the Prose Works in which we find Milton acting as a champion of Liberty, which he considered to have a moral and spiritual value. When Milton left Cambridge, he had already discovered his true vocation—Poetry; and in obedience to “an inward prompting” to fit himself by labour and intent study for his life-work, he gave up all intention of studying for the Church, left the University after receiving his Master's degree and retired at the age of twenty-three to his father's country-house at Horton,—the father too having retired from London and his profession of a scrivener. Horton lay near Windsor, about twenty miles from London.

B.—THE HORTON PERIOD.

To these six years of country life,—years which Milton regarded nearly as a time of “ripening” for his great work, we owe the best of his minor poems. These were written in the order we name them here :—

L'Allegro and *Il Penseroso*, 1632.

Arcades, 1633.

Comus, 1634, and

Lycidas, 1637.

L'Allegro and *Il Penseroso* re-capture in their rhythm and phrasing “some of the supreme felicities of Elizabethan

verse, the ease and magic of words and the serenity of the heart". These are poems which will never run the risk of becoming stale. As Dr. Johnson said, "Everyman that reads them reads them with pleasure. They exhibit a quintessence of a happy English life; and in them the poet reveals his own temperament as a typical but richly gifted one." The contrast in these two poems is a contrast, not so much of two characters, as of two moods. Under the influence of one mood, a man seeks light-hearted mirth. He joys in the cheerful sights and sounds of the morning, in the hay-time and the harvest, in the simple feasts of country folk. If he goes to town, he finds pleasure in pomps and pageants, in weddings, comedies and masques. The Puritan mood is forgotten here. Under the influence of the other mood, a man loves the quietude of the country, the trim garden in the evening, astronomy and philosophy, the tragic muse and religious anthems.

Arcades and *Comus*, a Maske presented at Ludlow Castle were written for the private stage and the music of Milton's friend and neighbour, Henry Lawes. Both are masques. Written after Prynne's attack on the drama—the *Histrionastix* ("The Actor Flogged"), they show that Milton did not share the view of extreme Puritanism that a drama is an evil in itself. ✓To Milton at this stage of his career not the drama itself, but its misuse was the evil. The admirer of Euripides and of Shakespeare's "native wood-notes wild" could not condemn drama as such. But since the time of Beaumont and Fletcher, there had been a steady decadence in the Elizabethan drama and a tendency towards moral looseness. Milton was resolved to bring back the drama to a glorification of virtue. ✓The subject of *Comus* is the sacredness of chastity. From Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, Milton took the subject of a girl lost in a wood where she is

caught by a magician rescued by her brothers. This magician becomes Comus in Milton's masque. He is a personification of revelry and the son of Circe and Bacchus and he possesses his mother's power of changing men into beasts. As the scene of the play is Shropshire, Sabrina, the nymph of the Severn, is brought in to complete the work of the brothers and end the masque in happiness. The play is called "a eulogy of virtue". The magician can have no lasting power over the freedom of the lady's mind, and whatever power he can use over her physical self is but temporary and will last only as long as "Heaven sees good". The lady and her brothers present the ideal of the nobler Puritans, Comus and his bestial troop stand for the gay world of fashion, the courtiers of Charles I. This poem gives us Milton's first exercise in blank verse, but being a *masque*, with song and dance, there are some excellent lyrics.

Lycidas is a monody on the death by drowning in the Irish Sea of Milton's college friend, Edward King. It follows the form of the Greek Pastoral, following the conventions of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus. It is to be ranked with the greatest of Pastoral Elegies in the English language such as Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis* and Shelley's *Adonais*. In thought it more resembles the work of Virgil (in the *Eclogues*) and that of Matthew Arnold. That is to say like Virgil and Matthew Arnold, Milton employs the Greek pastoral form as a framework into which he fits his views on life and art, on the beauty of human friendship and a cultured social intercourse, and the aims of statecraft. Milton shows himself in this poem as an uncompromising Puritan. The apparent incongruities—which Dr. Johnson harps so much upon in his criticism of the poem such as the mixture of paganism and Christianity and the *actual* lack of *professed* sincerity of grief—are brought into perfect

harmony by the thought which lies behind them and for which they provide the most beautiful expression.

C.—TRAVEL.

The death of his mother set the poet at liberty to travel, for which he obtained his father's consent, and a letter of advice from Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton College. He left England in 1638, and went first to Paris, where he was introduced to the celebrated Grotius the writer on International Law (author of *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, "On Law in War and Peace"), who was then residing at the French Court as an ambassador from Sweden. He then proceeded to Italy; and after an absence of fifteen months returned to his native country, which he found in the turmoils of a civil commotion—the beginning of the causes of the *Civil War*.

§3) 'Milton's Third Period.

. Henceforth Milton settled in London, took pupils and wrote pamphlets on the controversies of the time, except that there was a brief interval of rest in his pamphleteering campaign from 1645 to 1649. The result of his taking pupils was the *Tractate on Education* discussed later on in this Introduction. The result of his Puritan convictions and espousal of the Presbyterian party was his anti-episcopalian tracts with which he inaugurated his pamphleteering career. The result of his first marriage were the four *Divorce Tracts*. All these are discussed elsewhere. Here be it noted that the four Presbyterian Tracts led the way in 1641, followed by a fifth in 1642. Then came Milton's first marriage in 1643 and the first *Tract on Divorce* followed soon afterwards. Early in 1644 followed the second edition of this Tract and soon after the *Tractate on Education*. Then followed the second *Tract on Divorce* and soon after it the *Areopagitica*

in 1644. Two more *Tracts on Divorce* followed in 1645. Then came a break for four years.

In 1643 Milton married Mary Powell, daughter of an Oxfordshire cavalier. The match was so unsuited (there being also a great disparity in age) that within a few weeks the wife returned to her parents and refused to return. The husband sat down to write his *Tracts on Divorce* the chronology of which is given above and the details in the next section. These he published without licence against an ordinance passed by Parliament. Action was taken against him by the Stationers' Company (for details, cf. the next section) and this led to the composition of the *Areopagitica*. In 1645, the ruin of the Cavalier cause made his wife's friends desire her to return to him. He forgave and received her, and soon afterwards gave shelter to her parents and sisters. The poet moved from Aldersgate to a more commodious house at Barbican. In 1646 came the poet's break with the Presbyterians and the death of his father and soon afterwards he gave up his pupils and moved to a cosier house near Lincoln's Inn Fields.

In 1649 in support of the execution of King Charles I. he published his first political tract, *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. The same year he was made "Secretary for Foreign Tongues" (which meant practically Latin Secretary) to the new Council of State on a salary of £290 a year. His eye-sight began to fail the same year and a succession of political tracts made it worse. The whole subject of Milton's Prose Works is taken up in the next section.

We find Milton continually changing his residence in London. On his appointment as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State, he moved to chambers allowed him at Whitehall in 1649. In 1652, he moved to a "garden-house" in Petty France, Westminster, overlooking

'St. James' Park, where he was constantly visited by leading men of the day. In 1652, he became totally blind. Mary Powell died the same year. She had borne him three daughters, Anne, Mary and Deborah. The only male child, John, died in infancy in 1651.

On November 12, 1656, Milton married Katharine Woodcock, who gave birth to a daughter, October 19, 1657. Both mother and child died in February 1658. In one of his Sonnets of the time, Milton writes about this lady after her death and refers to her as a *saint*—"my *late* espoused saint". He had of course never seen her with physical eyes at least after marriage.

Then came the Restoration in 1660. For some time Milton was concealed in a friend's house in Bartholomew Close. He was arrested during the summer of that year, but at the intercession of his friends, he was discharged. The passing of the Act of Amnesty and Oblivion soon delivered him from further molestation. Two of Milton's books were burnt by the common hangman, but no punishment was inflicted on him. Now his part in political strife was over and he was free to devote himself entirely to far greater work. But he had suffered heavy losses and his official post and salary attached to it (it had been reduced in 1655) were gone. None the less on February, 24, 1663, the blind poet once again married his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, a lady thirty years younger than himself. Shortly afterwards, Milton moved to a house in Artillery Walk, where he lived for the rest of his life (except for a short time in 1665 during the Great Plague.) Here he wrote his *epics* and *Samson Agonistes*, the great works of his Fourth Period. His private life in the Fourth Period is best tacked on to the Third Period. He dictated these works to his daughters, but there was no great love lost between them and their second step-mother.

The great epics were the only public events now in the life of Milton : they were published in 1667 and 1671. *Paradise Lost* was re-published in 1674. In the same year the great poet died of gout on November 8, 1674, and was buried in St. Giles, Cripplegate, beside his father. The three daughters and the widow survived. Milton had left his estate by will to his third wife. The three daughters contested the will. Milton's brother Christopher gave evidence in Court on behalf of the widow. But the will was set aside owing to a flaw. The widow died in 1727. The youngest daughter Deborah married a Mr. Foster, and her daughter, Elizabeth Foster was the only known descendant of the poet. Elizabeth Foster died in 1754.

We have in the above sketch tacked on Milton's private life in his closing years to the *Third Period*. In the *Third Period*, the only poetry which Milton found time to write after his Prose were the great *Sonnets*. In these Sonnets, Milton rejected the Shakespearean form and reverted to that of Petrarch. Five of his sonnets are in the Italian tongue. Some of these sonnets especially those addressed to friends like Lawrence and Cyriack Skinner (Edward Phillips in his life of his uncle tells us that they used to visit Milton when residing at Petty France) are composed in the mood of Horace. Others were suggested by passing events. One of the most famous of these is the sonnet *On the Late Massacre in Piedmont*. It is generally recognized as the mightiest sonnet in any tongue. Its only defect is his unrestrained expression of his ever-growing hatred of the Catholic Church.

- (4) *Milton's Fourth Period* : 1660-1674 : The period of the great poems.

We now come to the *fourth* period of Milton's life, which is the third epoch in his literary work.

• As far back as 1641—full seventeen years before he actually began to write his great epic,—Milton had in his *Reason of Church Government* announced his intention of devoting himself to “a work not to be raised from the heat of youth or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist nor to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayers to the Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge”.

For a long time he had not made up his mind on the subject of the poem, though the theme finally selected appears in a list of subjects made by Milton in 1640. Before this he had decided on the Arthur story and he had announced that intention in a Latin poem written at Naples to his friend and host Manso. Between 1639 to 1642, Milton made no less than four schemes or “drafts” for a work to be called *Adam Unparadized*. Of these two are mere lists of characters and two are short abstracts or “plots” of a tragic drama, which seems to have been the form first intended for this subject. The scheme was laid aside during the stormy scenes of the Civil War and the Commonwealth Government. After Cromwell's death Milton applied himself to the project. After the Restoration he finished his *epic* on the subject.

Paradise Lost was finished in 1663-1665, during the “reign” of Milton's third wife. Milton took the Ms. with him to the cottage at Chalfont, St. Giles in Buckinghamshire, to which he had retired during the Great Plague of 1665. It was not published till 1667. The delay was probably due to the Great Fire of London and the interruption to business caused on that account. The poem appeared under the title of *Paradise Lost* in *ten* books. In the second edition of 1674, the poem was divided into

twelve books, by splitting Books VII and X. In this form, the poem has, since 1674, been always printed.

Paradise Regained and *Samson Agonistes* were published together in 1671, just three years before the poet's death.

It is rather sad to read that the copyright of *Paradise Lost* was sold to a publisher named Samuel Simmons for the immediate payment of five pounds, with an agreement for further payment of five pounds when thirteen hundred copies of the first edition were sold, with a fresh payment of five pounds for every future edition when the same number of copies was sold. All the editions were limited to fifteen hundred copies each. The third edition appeared after the poet's death in 1678, after which the poet's widow sold all her rights to Simmons for eight pounds. The sum of twenty-eight pounds constitutes the entire remuneration, the poet and his widow received for a performance, which while it immortalized the name of the poet, conferred an honour equally imperishable upon the nation signalized for his birth.

—Strange, as it may appear, Milton is said to have always preferred *Paradise Regained* to *Paradise Lost*. According to an anecdote of Milton's Quaker friend, Ellwood, *Paradise Regained* was written in part at least during the Plague Year at Chalfont, and was probably finished there. Milton thought that *Paradise Lost* was a complete epic and that the poem ended with the confident reassurance of the recovery of Paradise for Adam's descendants. But a story is told that Milton gave to Ellwood the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* to read, and on returning it, Ellwood said, "Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?" [Notice the Quaker's *thou* instead of *you*.] Milton had to reflect on this and consider that if a cultured man like Ellwood—he used to

read Latin books to Milton during his blindness—could not see the assurance of the recovery of Paradise through the Messiah, he must make the matter clear and write a fresh book to set forth the recovery : hence *Paradise Regained* !

In considering the “fable” of the epic, therefore, one has to take both the poems together. The former poem deals with the rebellion of the angels, the creation, the temptation and the fall of man. The second deals with the temptation of the Son of God, and His victory. The subject-matter is taken from the Bible, but largely from the Apocrypha. But since the same theme or similar ones had been attempted by other poets, chiefly continental, much ingenuity has been spent to find the sources. This is not of any importance for us to survey here, as the two poems bear in every part of them a decisive stamp of Milton’s genius. In the course of his vast reading, he must have come across many ideas, which sensibly or insensibly found lodgement in his mind and projected themselves into the Epics. But to say that he “borrowed” or “copied” this thing and that is to dogmatise too much. Some of the chief “sources” *accused* of having furnished hints to Milton are Andreini’s *Adamo* (an Italian play which Voltaire thought Milton must have seen acted in Italy), Grotius’s *Adamus Exul* (*Adam Exiled*), Taubmann’s *Belhum Angelicum* (*The War of the Angels*), Sylvester’s translation of *Du Bartas*, Vondel’s *Lucifer*, Phineas Fletcher and Giles Fletcher (*Christ’s Victory*, etc.).

↓ The “Fable” or Plot of *Paradise Lost* is divisible into three parts :—

- (a) The rebellion of the angels and their hostility to God.

(Books I, II, III and the greater part of Books V and VI.)

- (b) The creation of mankind, the intercession of the Messiah, and the life of Adam and Eve in Paradise.
(Books IV, and parts of Books V, VII, and VIII.)

- (c) The wiles of Satan against man, the disobedience of Eve and Adam, and their expulsion from Paradise.
(Books IX to XII.)

Of these books *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, draws an idyllic picture of the life of Adam and Eve in their state of innocence, though Milton stresses with an extra emphasis the Puritan view of what Mill would have called "The Subjection of Women",—Eve's dependence upon Adam, and complete obedience and submission to him. Book II is remarkable for the display of Milton's eloquence and a far greater development of the oratorical power seen in the *Areopagitica*.

Paradise Regained differs from the other poem in being rather a dialogue in epic form than an epic. It is a poem in four books dealing with one episode, Satan's Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness. There is no "story interest" in it, and no action and little of the true epic simplicity—and there are scarcely any real characters except Christ and Satan. In *Paradise Lost* too, there are just two human characters—there could not be more—and they are not introduced till the fourth book. The wealth of imagery in the *Paradise Lost* becomes obscure in *Paradise Regained*. The epic similes in *Paradise Lost* show Milton's wonderful reading and still more wonderful imagination.*

It is none of our purpose here to go into any criticism of these poems or to discuss questions like "Is Satan the Hero of *Paradise Lost*?" or the problem about the origin of Evil. There is a feeling of grandeur and spaciousness about Milton's epics which nothing can approach, still less equal. And there is a majesty and elevation of language and a music and sonorous quality in the blank verse for which Tennyson's description of Milton as "the mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies" and "God-gifted organ-voice of England" is perhaps the most adequate characterisation.

Samson Agonistes is a tragedy in the Greek form on the death of the blind champion of the Jewish nation in captivity. In many ways Milton identifies himself with Samson Agonistes (the Struggler). Like Samson, Milton too is blind and helpless among the Philistines. The despairing mood is however not the prevalent one, for the poem is a glorification of the Almighty, who after duly punishing His disobedient creature, makes him the instrument of the downfall of the foes of the Jewish race, and the means of its deliverance.

Milton's poetry is remarkable for the fact that he always maintains a high level. Even Shakespeare is uneven; and both Wordsworth and Tennyson have left a mass of uninspired work. Milton, except for one or two ephemeral sonnets, soars immediately into the very empyrean of poetry. He did not mean his later poetry to be merely for amusement. He held his poetical genius as one of God's most transcendent gifts and believed that poetry far from injuring society, is one of the great instruments of its refinement and exaltation. He wrote as a dedicated spirit and as a prophet. He is nothing, if not serious.

II.—Milton's Death and Character.

When in his sixty-sixth year, the gout with which he had long been tormented, prevailed over the enfeebled powers of nature. On the 10th of November, 1674, he quietly departed this life at his house at Bunhill Fields, and was buried next to his father, in the chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate. His funeral was splendidly and numerously attended. No memorial marked the place where he was buried, though towards the end of the Victorian Age, a tablet was erected. A monument has been erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

In his youth he was accounted extremely handsome. We have given above in an account of his college days, Aubrey's description of his appearance and how he came to be called the *Lady of Christ College*. The colour of his hair was a light brown; the symmetry of his features exact, enlivened with an agreeable air and a beautiful mixture of fair and ruddy. His stature was about middle size, neither too lean, nor corpulent; his limbs were well-proportioned, nervous and active. In his diet he was abstemious; and strong liquors of all kinds were his aversion. Being convinced how much his health had suffered by night-studies in his younger years, he was accustomed to retire early (seldom later than nine) to bed; and rose commonly before five in the summer and six in the winter. When blindness restrained him from other exercises, he had a machine to swing in, and amused himself in his chamber with playing on an organ. His deportment was erect, open, affable; his conversation, easy, cheerful, instructive; his wit, on all occasions, at command, facetious, grave, or satirical, as the subject required. His judgment was just and penetrating, his apprehension quick, and his memory

tenacious of what he read. Of the English poets, he set most value upon Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley.

III.—Milton's Prose Works.

(1) *The Prologue to the Pamphlets.*

An uncompromising directness and passionate vehemence characterise Milton's Prose works, nearly all of which made their first appearance in the world of letters as pamphlet-eering documents. Milton's avowed object was, as he himself declares, "to write plainly and roundly", for he had resolved "to vindicate the spotless truth from an ignominious bondage whose native worth is now become of such low esteem that she is to find small credit with us for what she can say...."

Throughout Milton's pamphlets we see his extraordinary passion for independence. He feels so strongly for liberty that he cannot always reason temperately. He indulges in fierce and bitter denunciation. He launches invective after invective. Personal attacks upon his opponents are made to do service for argument, and this particularly in his political pamphlets, such as in his anti-episcopal tracts and his pamphlets on the *Defence of the English People*, viz. *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1651) and *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda* (1654), referred to later on as the *First Defence* and the *Second Defence* respectively. He has an acute sense of the righteousness of his own cause. This makes him a merciless critic. It was a failing of all Puritan controversialists.

Milton's principal prose writings will be seen at a glance in the following conspectus :—

- (1) 1641-42, Five anti-episcopal pamphlets.
- (2) 1643-45, Four Divorce pamphlets.

- (3) 1644, *Tractate on Education* (1644, June) and *Areopagitica* (1644, November).
- (4) 1649, (1) *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, (first Republican pamphlet), (2) *Eikonoklastes*.
- (5) 1651-1654, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651 (i.e. *Defence of the English People* and *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda*, 1654 i.e. *Second Defence of the English People*. We refer to these books elsewhere as the *First Defence* and *Second Defence*).
- (6) 1666, *Ready and easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth*.
- (7) 1673, *De Doctrina Christiana* (left partly copied out at his death).
- (2) *Anti-episcopal pamphlets*.

The year 1641 is called the "Pamphlet year" of Milton's life. No less than four anti-episcopal pamphlets were issued by him in this year, as follows :—

- (1) *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England* (May-June, 1641).
- (2) *Prelatical Episcopacy* (June-July, 1641).
- (3) *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*.
- (4) *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*.
- (5) The fifth anti-episcopal pamphlet, issued in 1642 is entitled the *Apology for Smectymnus*.

Let us make a few comments on these anti-episcopal tracts of Milton.

The Long Parliament had been summoned in 1640. It proceeded to take steps against the king's tyrannical minis-

ter, Strafford, and Archbishop Laud, the head of the episcopalian system of England. The Root and Branch Bill of 1641 provided for the utter abolition of Archbishops, Bishops and other ecclesiastical officers. The Puritan party was committed to a struggle against the hierarchy of the Church of England. The idea behind the bill was the establishment of a Presbyterian form of Church Government in England, resembling that in Scotland. This was opposed by the High Church party and a more moderate bill retaining the Bishops, but curtailing their powers was proposed in the House of Lords.

In connection with this struggle, Bishop Joseph Hall, published his tracts, *Episcopacy by Divine Right* in 1640 and *An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament*, in January, 1641. In reply to these, there appeared a pamphlet, entitled *An Humble Remonstrance in which the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is Discussed*. Its authors were a group of five English ministers who signed themselves Smectymnuus, the name being coined after their initials. The letters *ty* in this name stand for Thomas Young, Milton's former tutor. Bishop Hall issued his reply to it in March 1641. Milton joined in the controversy.

It was while the Root and Branch Bill was under consideration that Milton published his first ecclesiastical pamphlet, *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline*, June, 1641. This is rather a temperate document, refuting the arguments in favour of episcopacy and giving a resumé of the growth of Protestantism in England from Henry VIII to Queen Elizabeth and showing that English Protestantism, as it then existed, was only a compromise with Catholicism. This tract goes into two books. In the second of these, Milton denounces episcopacy as a form of church

government that makes common cause with a corrupt monarchy and concludes with a vehement denunciation of the corruptions into which the Anglican clergy had fallen, —a matter that had been more artistically prefigured in *Lycidas*. Milton's position is essentially that of Calvinist. He still believes in the Athanasian doctrine about the Trinity and politically with the majority of the nation assumes the monarchical form of government as that to which his country is committed. The tract was published anonymously.

The second tract, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* resumes the same subject. This pamphlet appeared without Milton's name in June or July 1641 and was primarily a reply to the Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland and partly to Archbishop Ussher. Milton refutes, without any particular animus the patristic authorities cited by Ussher in his *Judgment of Dr. Rainoldes touching the Original of Episcopacy*. Ussher's contention was the superiority of scriptural and patristic authority in favour of the episcopacy over the presbytery. Milton showed the authorities alleged do not prove the case or are untrustworthy. Milton had in his Horton period, made a fair study of the writings of the fathers of the church, but he now disparages them. He condemns Tertullian for representing Christ the Son as inferior to God the Father, though this same attitude Milton was himself to take up in after life. Milton ridicules stories of marvels such as that of the seven sleepers of Cologne, and in one particular passage, he refers to the occasional necessity in state affairs of a strong ruler, like a Brutus or a Pericles, whose authority would be elective, subject to abrogation by the people.

The third tract published in the same year, is directed against Bishop Hall. It is entitled *Animadversions upon*

the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus. Like the preceding two, this tract was also anonymous. Milton's tone towards Hall is more satirical than his tone in the second tract against Ussher. The first tract had been more impersonal. The reason for the satirical tone against Hall is that the latter had been satirical against the Smectymnuans.

The fourth tract came after an interval of eight months. This was published over Milton's name. It is entitled *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*. It goes into two books. This is the longest and most interesting of Milton's ecclesiastical tracts. It goes into two books, which are divided into chapters—about seven chapters in all, with a conclusion on *The Mischief that Prelaty does in the State*. Milton urged the separation of Church and State. It was one of Milton's profoundest convictions and from this position he never receded. He becomes very eloquent in denouncing the idea of enforcing uniformity of belief. The multiplication of schisms and sects does not frighten Milton. He wants liberty for each and all to follow any belief he preferred. This however was for the Protestants: he could not tolerate Catholicism, or any liberty for Catholicism in England. This idea finds repeated expression in Milton's *Areopagitica*. Underlying Milton's argument is Milton's belief that religion is a personal affair between man and his God. No priest can intervene between. It is essentially a Protestant and Puritan feeling. The episcopal system, argued Milton, "excludes Christ's people from the offices of holy discipline" and "causes them to have an unworthy and abject opinion of themselves, to approach to holy duties with a slavish fear, and to unholy things with a familiar boldness." This position carried to its legitimate conclusion leads a man from Pres-

byterianism to Independence, and finally to Individualism, as happened in Milton's own case afterwards. But for the present, the arguments here urged are in favour of orthodox Presbyterianism. In the introduction to the Second Book Milton gives a personal explanation about a lofty sense of duty having called him away into this controversy from a more pleasing task and announces his intention of writing "a lofty poem which the world will not willingly let die."

In the last tract, *Apology for Smectymnuus* issued early in 1642, Milton returns to Bishop Hall, who had answered Milton's third tract, *Animadversions*. Bishop Hall's son coming forward as his father's champion had raked up a garbled version of Milton's quarrel with his Cambridge tutor Chappell. By an unscrupulous distortion of the facts, the younger Hall announced the strange news that "after an inordinate and violent youth spent at the university", Milton had been "vomited out thence"—i.e. was ejected. From the university, this slanderer—Milton calls him "alchemist of slander"—traces Milton to the city and declares that "where Milton's morning haunts are he wisseth not, but that his afternoons are spent in playhouses and bordelloes." Milton replies to these random charges by a lengthy account of himself and his studious habits, describing his college life, his study of the orators, historians, and elegiac poets and his love of Dante and Petrarch. This part of the tract is very beautiful, but it is like an oasis in a desert. Speaking of his ambition to write a great poem, Milton writes:—

"And long it was not after, when I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, *ought himself to be a true poem*, that is a composition and pattern

of the best and honourablest things, not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and practice of all that which is praiseworthy. . . . Next I took me among those lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown all over Christendom."

(3) *Divorce Tracts.*

Milton had returned from his continental tour because of the political situation in England. Some biographers have inferred that he intended taking service in the Parliament's army during the Civil War, and some words of his nephew and first biographer Philip seem to lend colour to that view. Eventually he decided to help Parliament and the Presbyterian cause with his pen. As he announced in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, he had taken "labour and intent study to be his portion." His intention to exalt his country's renown by the composition of some monument of the English language, comparable to Dante's or Tasso's masterpiece had however to be postponed. One cause for it were the anti-episcopalian tracts. The second cause was the Divorce pamphlets.

In the summer of 1643, Milton took a sudden journey into the country—nobody knowing any reason for it or believing it to be anything more than a recreation tour—and when he returned after a month's absence, he brought home a wife. The bride was attended by "some few of her nearest relations." There was feasting in celebration of the event in the small house in Aldergate Street, where Milton took pupils, being interested first of all in the education of his nephews, the sons of his sister, Mrs. Philips.

The bride was Mary Powell, the eldest daughter of

Richard Powell Esq. of Forest Hill, J. P., for the county of Oxford. Forest Hill was a village on the Thames Road, five miles from Oxford. Mr. Powell was in debt though his wife had brought him a dowry of £3000/-. The estate was encumbered and Milton's father, who had once lived in the neighbourhood of the locality was one of his creditors.

! The marriage was the beginning of a sorrow. The poet knew nothing of the character and disposition of his wife, Mary. She had lived in a gay circle in the lively household of a cavalier family. Her new Puritan surroundings repelled her. Milton's dreams of married happiness barely lasted out the honeymoon. He found he had mated himself to a clod of earth, who had not the capacity of becoming a helpmate for him. But the breach did not come from his side. The girl herself conceived a dislike to the husband she had thoughtlessly accepted. She went home to her parents and refused to return. The messenger sent to call her came back with the report that he was "dismissed with some sort of contempt."

This was the occasion for Milton's publication of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, at first anonymously, the second enlarged edition coming out under his name, in February, 1644.

He enforced his arguments with three supplementary pamphlets in answer to opponents and objectors, for there was no lack of opposition, and indeed of outcry, loud and fierce. The mystery has assumed a darker hue since the discovery by Masson of a copy of the first edition of the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* with the date, August 1, 1643, which would go to show that the book was drafted early in the honeymoon period. A writer in the *Athenæum* suggests the lady refused him consummation of marriage.

Divorce for incompatibility of temper always remained to the end a private crotchet with Milton.

The supplementary pamphlets on Divorce were .

- (1) *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*, July, 1644.
- (2) *Tetrachordon*, 1645.
- (3) *Colasterion*, in March, 1645.

In the course of this "Divorce Campaign" appeared the *Tractate on Education* and *Areopagitica*. Though the genesis of these *Divorce Tracts* is to be found in Milton's unhappy experience in matrimonial life, (some light on which is thrown on his earliest biography by his nephew, Edward Phillips, published in 1694 and an Anonymous Biography first discovered in 1889 and published in 1902 under the title of *The Earliest Life of Milton*), the author of these tracts himself states that he had "upon full consideration and by reading good authors" *previously* formed this opinion. According to Milton's own statement in the *Second Defence of the English People*, the Divorce Campaign was a second *impersonal* step in the cause of liberty, following upon the successful war against the authority of the bishops. Notwithstanding this contention for an *impersonal* origin of these Divorce Tracts, the two earliest biographies above cited (that of Edward Phillips and the Anonymous Biography) agree that the incubation of the first pamphlet followed the failure of his wife to return at Michaelmas i.e. September 29, 1643. This produces a complication on account of the date, August, 1643 on the first edition copy discovered by Masson. Mr. Hanford (*A Milton Handbook*) suggests the marriage may have taken place in 1642 rather than in 1643. This is rather a strange way to try to square irreconcilable facts, when all authori-

ties agree that the marriage took place in 1643. If Phillips is right and Milton himself speaks the truth—and there is no reason why he should be deemed to speak otherwise,—the inference seems to be that soon after his marriage, that being a subject uppermost in his thoughts, Milton's thoughts were engaged on a detached and dispassionate consideration of the subject of the dissolution of marriage —though a vague personal experience may have made its own contribution in determining the choice of this topic—and that the ensuing family unhappiness in Milton's household may have led his young nephew—Edward Philips and the anonymous biographer to mix the issues and by a natural but hasty and erroneous deduction attribute to this family incident the initial cause of writing the first Divorce pamphlets, the others following naturally in due course.

Milton's main plea is that incompatibility of temper is a more vital impediment to the higher objects of marriage than any other and that the will of the parties should therefore be admitted as decisive for the continuance or dissolution of the bond. "The function of the magistrate he would limit", says Mr. Hanford, "to the securing of conditions equitable for both parties. The principle is in perfect accord with Milton's whole philosophy". Milton thought nobly of marriage as a spiritual rather than a merely physical union. But where there is no parity of minds, no willingness towards the same purpose, no *consensus*, or feeling together, or consent of minds, as the Roman Law put it, what spiritual union is there really left? The idea of an external compulsion, binding two human wills into one in spite of themselves seemed to him preposterous. To use force or moral pressure to keep husband and wife together, when mutual love and sympathy had deserted their breasts and laid them forlorn, seemed repellent to his reason and

stirred him into "eloquent and passionate denunciation". The spirituality of the marriage union is the fundamental note that Milton strikes again and again in the course of the whole of this voluminous debate. That portion of the discussion in which Milton tries to reconcile his reformed views with scriptural authorities has no interest for the modern reader. This observation applies not only to Milton's Divorce pamphlets, not only to his other pamphlets, but to nearly all prose writings of the theologians and men of letters of the seventeenth century, not excluding Sir Thomas Browne. Milton urged that the words of Jesus Christ in connection with the law of Moses regarding divorce of a wife did not mean that Jesus wanted to rescind the Mosaic law of divorce. Jesus approved of the law but did not approve of the abuse of it, while Moses made the law, even though it might be abused "rather than that good men should lose their just and lawful privilege of remedy." Of course, neither Moses nor Christ seem to have cared much for the good woman's "privilege of remedy"! As in the law of Islam, Milton puts the decision for divorce entirely with the husband.) The poor wife has neither privilege nor remedy. This is blind Hebraism,—as if nothing stood to reason but what is sanctioned by the scriptures. The Puritans were blind followers of Hebraism. (In Milton's opinion, if either party to the marriage is dissatisfied, incompatibility follows and the marriage is *ipso facto* dissolved, but the *husband must take the lead in dissolving it*.)

In the preface to the second edition of the first tract, Milton seems to argue that he had come to these opinions by himself and he speaks of himself as a pioneer in a great liberal attempt to free mankind from its fetters. However, since the beginning of Protestantism, this philosophy of marriage had engaged the general attention of the thinkers of the

time. In the first edition of his first tract, Milton does not refer to any of these authorities. In the months that followed he seems to have studied the Protestant literature on the subject and in his revised edition he refers to several of these authorities. (In his second tract he welcomed the opinion of the Protestant divine, Martin Bucer and quoted the relevant chapter from his book. Bucer had urged stoutly in favour of absolute divorce, and not mere separation from bed and board, as permitted by the canon law. Bucer had likewise admitted incompatibility as a ground for absolute divorce. In his third tract, *Tetrachordon* (a technical term for music) (1) referring to the *four* notes represented by the four strings of the Greek lyre, and (2) standing for the *lyre* itself—from Greek *tetra*, four) Milton adds nothing new, but he enters upon a minute interpretation of *four* scriptural passages concerning divorce.) In the preface to *Tetrachordon*, 1645, Milton refers to the complaints made to Parliament about his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (meaning thereby the petitions of the Stationers' Company for publication of that book without licence, which ultimately led to the *Areopagitica*) and certain hostile references to his book. The task of refuting these opponents is the subject-matter of the *fourth* tract on *Divorce*, viz. : *Colasterion*. The book particularly deals with the refutation of an anonymous reply (Milton calls it a *Nameless Answer*) to the first tract on Divorce, dated November, 1644. In his pamphlet, 1645, Milton belabours with personal abuse and insults the author of the "Nameless Answer". (Milton answers the *Nameless Answer* by repeating his former points but relies on satire and ridicule to accomplish the result. The language used by Milton is outrageous.)

This was the end of the pamphleteering war in connection with Divorce. Milton continued to hold these ideas till the

end. They are restated in his last pamphlet, *De Doctrina Christiana*.

Milton's arguments fell flat on his generation, but they have had considerable influence in shaping modern ideas on divorce.

There are no personal details in these Divorce pamphlets. We are told on account of his wife's refusal to return, Milton paid court to the daughter of a certain Dr. Davis. Phillips describes her as handsome. But the lady had no faith in the efficacy of Milton's Doctrine of Divorce and was too prudent to commit herself to such a risky marriage. Meanwhile the defeat of the Royalists at Naseby had driven the family of Milton's wife to the city of Oxford for shelter. Their own manor was occupied by the Parliamentary troops. On the triumph of the Puritans, Milton's position improved. Milton's wife came to meet him at a friend's home and made repentance. Her parents too, whose fortunes were now quite wrecked, came to live under Milton's roof. This was in June 1645. Milton received his wife and her people, and he changed into larger premises from Aldersgate to Barbican. Mary died in child-birth during her fourth confinement. Three daughters survived. Mary was twenty-six years of age at her death. She was seventeen when she married. Her married life therefore—including the period of her desertion of her husband, the divorce pamphlets, the return and the four confinements took up a period of nine years,—rather an eventful record for so short a matrimonial career.

(4) *The Tractate on Education.*

The two important tracts of 1644 have a place of honour and deservedly so—in all the range of Milton's Prose. All his other tracts, including even the Divorce tracts, which

dealt with an important problem, have proved to be but of ephemeral interest. *The Tractate on Education* and the *Areopagitica* deal with live problems of everyday life. The *Areopagitica* is naturally the greatest of Milton's Prose Works, dealing as it does with the absorbing question of the liberty of the expression of thought. Of this we speak at length elsewhere,—without it indeed Milton's prose would have been altogether forgotten. It has an interest all its own. So has the *Tractate on Education*, though of far less value. Let us then discuss this *Tractate*.

Milton was engaged in teaching. He had taken in hand the education of his two nephews, John and Edward Phillips, sons of his only sister Anne. Anne was a few years older than the poet. Her first husband Edward Phillips had died in 1631 and the widow had consoled herself with a second husband—one Thomas Agar, of the Clerk of the Crown's office. Milton settling in London in 1639, had at once undertaken the tuition of his nephews. He soon developed a taste for education.

In 1643, as Edward Phillips tells us in his life of his uncle, Milton began to take other pupils in his house, but only "the sons of some gentlemen that were his intimate friends". He threw into his lessons the same energy which he carried into everything else. "Even on Sundays there were lessons in the Greek Testament and dictations of a system of Divinity in Latin".—[*Pattison*]

Milton's pamphlets of this period "betray, in their want of leisure and equilibrium, even in their heated style and passion-flushed language, the life at high pressure which their author was leading".

We have no account of Milton's teaching from any competent pupil. Edward Phillips who is practically our sole informant on the subject was an amiable and upright man

who made his living by tuition and compiling books. But he held his uncle in great veneration and tells us little about his teaching except the quantity of the reading done. The deficiencies in Phillip's account are however partly made-up by what we find in the *Tractate* itself :

The full title of the pamphlet is *Tractate of Education to Master Samuel Hartlib*.

Mr. Pattison remarks that of all the practical arts, that of Education seems the most cumbrous in its methods and to be productive of the smallest results with the most lavish expenditure of time. Hence the subject always lures the innovator and the theorist. (In Milton's time when there was a great social revolution, the traditional methods of education were certain to be questioned. There was a dissatisfaction with the methods of the schools. Bacon had insisted on altering the methods of *acquiring* knowledge : the methods of *imparting* knowledge were therefore included in his protest.)

—John Amos Comenius (1592-1671) a Moravian settled at Lissa in Poland, had worked out a new theory of education. In 1641, he was invited by the Long Parliament to England to assist in reforming the system of public instruction, but this work was obstructed by the outbreak of the Civil War. He was the first to compose a picture-book for children. He had insisted on the teaching of Language studies only as an instrument of thought, not as an end in itself. A knowledge of things rather than words—this was his gospel, and preferably through a living language than a dead language. He had insisted on the free use of our eyes and ears, and an intelligent appreciation of things rather than loading the memory.

In England these views were championed by Samuel Hartlib, to whom Milton addresses his *Tractate*. Hartlib

was an enthusiast, who like Bacon believed that by a reformed education a new heaven could be brought upon earth. Hartlib had also a great scheme for the union of Protestant Christendom, besides his propaganda for Comenius's schol-reform.

Coming in touch with Hartlib, Milton found that most of Comenius's ideas had already presented themselves independently to his mind. At Hartlib's request Milton decided to put down his thoughts on paper. This was the genesis of the pamphlet.

This tract has often been republished and ranked along with Locke's *tractate* on the subject, but so far as any practical hints are concerned, Milton's tract is disappointing. Its interest is wholly biographical. It cannot be considered as a valuable contribution to educational theory. Milton complains that the alumni of the University carry away from their stay there only a contempt for learning and sink into "ignorantly zealous clergymen" or mercenary lawyers, while the wealthier undergraduates betake themselves to feast and jollity, and these, Milton thinks, are the best of the three classes. These moral shipwrecks, according to Milton, are the consequence of bad education. To avert these results we must reform the schools. But the measures of reform proposed are inadequate to remedy the evil. Milton labours under the mistake of regarding education as merely the communication of useful knowledge, and unfortunately for Milton, in his plan this knowledge is to be gathered out of Greek and Latin books. It is only Milton's enthusiasm for learning that the Tractate retains its place as one of our English classics. But Milton has given a grand definition of Education which can never be improved upon and deserves to be quoted: "I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and

magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." But on another page he defines the true end of learning as being "to repair the ruin of our first parents by regaining to know God aright", which is one of the theological clichés of his age.

Though Milton insists on the study of Greek and Latin, it should be noted that he does not mean that they should be studied for themselves, but merely as tools for the acquisition of knowledge. In our age, when science has advanced so much, Latin and Greek will be very bad tools indeed for acquiring knowledge. But besides Greek and Latin, Milton insisted that the ideal student must acquire Italian, Hebrew and even Syriac and along with them a full course in military discipline. Milton contemplates a training of boys at school from twelve to twenty-one years, after which they may go on foreign travel, as he himself did. He does not advocate University education, his own experience at Cambridge being so unsatisfactory. His ideal was to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an academy large enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons—this place should be at once both school and University, requiring no transfer to another college, except for law and medicine. Milton's educational creed is, says Mr. Hanford, ultimately based on the educational thought of the classical humanists like Cicero, Plato and Quintilian. Naturally Milton's plan of education is meant for the aristocrats and the well-do-do middle-class. The modern problem of educating the lower classes had not arisen in his time.)

Milton was obsessed with the conviction that the existing schools of his time produced such small results for such a large expenditure of time and supposed the remedy was to concentrate a mass of useful knowledge through the classics into the minds of his students. He did not foresee

that one lamentable result of dumping with such rapidity such a vast amount of unassimilated knowledge would be rather to stupefy the student, than truly cultivating his mind. John and Edward Phillips upon whom Milton so thoroughly concentrated his system, do not seem to have turned out into original geniuses, after all.

Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard [*Milton*] considers this book as a "document of the Renaissance", setting forth the charms of learning in the tones of Sidney [Sir Philip Sidney] and he thinks that of all the prose works of Milton, this work on EDUCATION is the only one that could be truly called charming. The book comes out in its fullest charm when Milton describes the beauties of music and long walks in the country. These passages take the reader back to Milton's *L'Allegro*.

(5) *Milton's Political Pamphlets.*

Leaving for special consideration elsewhere the *Areopagitica*,—which is acknowledgedly his greatest prose work, we must now find some space for his political writings. There was a fair interval in Pamphlet-writing between 1645-1649. But from 1649, Milton begins a campaign against Monarchy.

The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates is by far the greatest of Milton's political tracts. It was published in 1649. We learn from internal evidence that it was composed before or during the trial of King Charles I, which began on January 20, 1649. Milton refers to this book in his *Second Defence*, as a book to show "what might lawfully be done against tyrants." The book passed into a second edition in the course of a year.

The book is written with comparative moderation and refers less to Charles than to troublesome kings in general.

The argument by which Milton justifies the execution of the king have little value for us. But the first few pages state with admirable clearness certain ideas which are now familiar to the student of politics. Milton was perfectly aware that popular opinion had swung round in Charles's favour and he cannot disguise his feelings against the fickleness of the men who could wage war against a perfidious King and then when God had delivered him into their hands, hesitate to make safe by the only possible way the freedom they had wrested. This is how the tract opens :—

"If men within themselves would be governed by reason and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyranny, of custom from without and blind affections from within, they would discern better what it is to favour and uphold the tyrant of a nation. But, being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public state conformably governed to the inward vicious rule by which they govern themselves."

The next important political pamphlet of Milton is *Eikonoklastes* ("The Image-Breaker"). It is an answer to the Royalist pamphlet *Eikon Basilike*, ("The Image of the King") which at the time was attributed to Charles I, but was probably written by Bishop Gauden, and was published immediately after his execution. Milton's reply was composed in 1649 and he indicates in his preface that he wrote it at the instance of the Council of State. It was published in October 1649 and he had been appointed as Secretary for Foreign Tongue to the Council of State in March of that year. In a sense therefore this is one of Milton's official publications.

After this there ensued the Latin controversy with Salmasius who had put forth a defence of the King. Salmasius was probably the most famous scholar of the day

in Europe, though he had neither Casaubon's balanced judgment nor Scaliger's grasp or insight. He was then a professor at Leyden, occupying the chair which Joseph Scaliger had once filled with such brilliant success. At the request of Charles II, Salmasius published in 1649 his *Defensio Regia Pro Carolo I* ("A Royal Defence of Charles I"). In 1651 Milton replied with his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, ("A Defence of the English People"). It made Milton famous all over Europe, but cost him his eye-sight, which had begun to fail already at the publication of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. Salmasius gave a reply, to which Milton gave a counter reply in his *Second Defence*. The whole controversy was distinguished by the same preference for invective and wearisome abuse to sober reasoning as marked Milton's earlier polemical tracts in the anti-episcopal controversy. The *Second Defence* however contains an eloquent defence by Milton of his own career and character and is of immense autobiographic value. It is curious to find Milton accusing one of the greatest scholars of the day of making mistakes in grammar, i.e. Latin syntax, for the whole of this unedifying controversy was conducted in Latin. The peroration of the *Second Defence* contains an eloquent tribute to liberty and the principles by which a nation is to be governed in acquiring liberty and in retaining it when acquired.

The last effective and the least judicious of all the political pamphlets of Milton was *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, published on the eve of the Restoration, and supported by a letter to General Monck deprecating a return to monarchy, when the General had made all preparations to welcome back Charles II to the throne of his father.

(6) *Christian Doctrine.*

The date of the composition of the treatise on *Christian Doctrine* cannot be clearly determined. It was written in Latin, but never published during Milton's lifetime and after his death the manuscript was lost sight of. It was discovered in the early nineteenth century and it was published in 1825 by Dr. (later Bishop) Charles R. Sumner, who edited it with a translation and notes in such a scholarly manner that his edition has become a Milton classic. It is well-known that Macaulay's *Essay on Milton* was occasioned by this publication. Scholars have assigned it to the period between 1650 and 1658. Professor F. A. Patterson (*The Students' Milton*, 1934) thinks Milton must have written it between 1644 and 1648 when he was comparatively free from political controversy as also the labours of office. Professor Tillyard thinks Milton began collecting his materials for *Christian Doctrine* late in 1645. But we have probably expressed in this book almost the latest pronouncement of Milton on the Christian religion. We know that Milton began his career as an Anglican and then became a Presbyterian. When the quarrel began between the Presbyterians and the Independents, we find Milton in the ranks of the Independents. In this book, Milton seems to show his most advanced views on Christianity. He shows himself clearly an Arian, and no longer the orthodox Athanasian that the author of the *Nativity Ode* must have been—that is to say, according to the views expressed in this book, Milton is no longer a believer in the orthodox Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Arius denied the co-equality and co-eternity of the Son with the Father. Hooker had condemned Arianism in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* V, xli. Professor Patterson believes that *The Chris-*

tian Doctrine throws light on many passages in Milton's work, and is especially helpful in a study of *Paradise Lost*. But he adds this warning: "It should not, however, be taken as a final authority, for in some important respects it seems to differ in thought from *Paradise Lost*. This fact in itself suggests that the treatise was written at an early date." With equal logical consistency, it can be maintained that (1) it was written at a *later* date—i.e. after *Paradise Lost*—and (2) that Milton's views on Christianity underwent a still further change *after* the composition of his great epics, with the spirit of which the Athanasian creed rather than the Arian view is more in harmony.

(7) *Epilogues to the Pamphlets.*

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the most beautiful part of these pamphlets (except the *Tractate on Education* and the *Areopagitica*) lies in the autobiographic light which they shed on Milton's life and character. These "confessions", if we may use this term, or "revelations" are scattered here and there like oases in a desert. Mr. Pattison pertinently asks why a few men like Milton are indulged without challenge in talking about themselves, what would be childish vanity or odious egotism in others. He thinks the difference lies not merely in the fact that we tolerate in a superior genius what would be intolerable in a cypher, but that there is a further distinction in the *moral* quality in men's confessions. Though occasionally in the fifth anti-episcopal tract or in the *Second Defence* we cannot close our eyes to a hint of egotism, we feel the sincerity and moral fervour of the man and we do not attribute his claims to a mere whim of self-love or vanity. "In Milton, as in Gibbon", says Mr. Pattison, "the qualification of self-love which attends all autobiography is

felt to be subordinated to a noble intention. The lofty conception, which Milton formed of his vocation as a poet, expands his soul and absorbs his personality. It is his office, not himself, which he magnifies. The details of his life and nurture are important, not because they belong to him, but because he belongs, by dedication, to a high and sacred calling. He is extremely jealous, not of his own reputation, but of the credit which is due to lofty endeavour. We have only to compare Milton's magnanimous assumption of the first place with the paltry conceit with which, in the following age of Dryden and Pope, men spoke of themselves as authors, to see the wide difference between the professional vanity of successful authorship and the proud consciousness of a prophet mission. Milton leads a prophetic life and has laid for himself the law that 'he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem.' " Nevertheless it is clear that Milton's political writings would have been quite forgotten, like the hundreds of Civil War tracts that are preserved in the Thomason collection in the Museum, were it not for the fact that the author of these political tracts was also the author of *Lycidas* and *Paradise Lost*. They would have served merely as landmarks for philological preciousity. There is one tract however which deals with a subject of permanent interest and worthy of the most detailed study, both for its matter and its manner, and that is the *Areopagitica*,—one of the products of the eventful year 1644, the most fertile year in Milton's life, as two of the *Divorce tracts*, the *Tractate on Education*, and the *Areopagitica* all belong to that year.

Milton's pamphlets take their colour from the different stages of his life in the middle period. At first he is engaged in teaching and he writes on education. Next he is

married and involved in domestic unhappiness and his pamphlets are devoted to the question of divorce and speculation on the obligations of marriage. Thirdly, he has become a Puritan and the Puritan cause has triumphed and he defends Presbyterianism against Episcopalianism. Lastly the intensified stage of the Civil War claims his attention and he devotes himself to political tracts, allowing the political situation to override his intended purpose to dedicate his life to poetry and the writing of a monumental poem which the world would not willingly allow to perish.

This period of theological political activity fills up twenty years of his life, from his thirty-second to his fifty-second year. He thought it his duty to employ the fruit of his studies on behalf of the Church of God. It must also be considered that a generation inflamed by the violent passions of a civil conflict were in no mood to attend to poetry. Nor did he plunge himself readily into controversy. But when he fell into it in 1641, he took it up with a vehemence.

The pamphlet period is an important episode in Milton's life. It is the genuine Milton we see in this period, though his original ambition was to write an epic. He became a zealot among zealots. His cause is the cause of God. The sword of the Independents is the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. In his *First Defence* and his *Second Defence*, he does not merely refute opponents: he curses the enemies of England, as the Jewish prophets cursed those of Israel. He has become a republican. All monarchists are the enemies of his Israel. His pamphlets are all inspired by the love of liberty, which is a stronger force in Milton than mere Presbyterianism or republicanism. It was an aspiration for a new order of things in which the old in-

justices and oppressions should cease. Milton embodied the spirit of liberty in his tracts more perfectly than any of his contemporaries. What Bacon proposed to do for knowledge, Milton did for liberty. Yet he put up with the absolutism of Oliver Cromwell. That shows he did not care for republicanism in the abstract, if absolute autocracy produced the desired fruit. "He defends religious liberty against the prelates, civil liberty against the crown, the liberty of the press against the executive, the liberty of conscience against the Presbyterians, and domestic liberty against the tyranny of the canon law." [Pattison]

One virtue these pamphlets possess, —that of style. They are monuments of the English language, with all their Latinisms and inversions. Milton's prose must be always resorted to by students as long as English remains a medium of ideas. And yet even here there are grave flaws. There are often signs of grave negligence in the construction of his sentences. In this regard, says Mr. Pattison, Milton compares unfavourably with Hooker. On the other hand, putting aside Bacon, there is no prosaist of the sixteenth century who possesses anything like Milton's command over the resources of the English language.

The total number of Milton's pamphlets is twenty-five. Of these twenty-one were written in English and four in Latin. Of these twenty-five tracts, two—*viz.* Tract on *Education* and *Areopagitica* deal with subjects of permanent importance. Four deal with Divorce. Of the remaining nineteen, nine or nearly half relate to *Church Government*, eight treat of the various crises of civil strife, and two are personal vindications of himself against one of his antagonists,—*viz.* the *Second Defence* and the *Defensio Pro Se* (*Defence of Himself*).

IV. AREOPAGITICA

(1) *General Character.*

Areopagitica, Milton's great defence of the freedom of the press was the fourth and last of the pamphlets that he wrote in the epoch-making year 1644. It was published in November. Milton had a personal cause for writing this book. But in effect it is the most philosophical, though highly passionate, championship of the great cause that stands to Milton's credit. It is the one prose book for which he will be remembered as long as the English language and the English nation last. We have seen that practically all the prose works of Milton may be said to have offered incense to the goddess of liberty. But this work is outspokenly and directly a defence of liberty, and in that aspect of liberty which may be said to be the most spiritual: for he deals with the freedom of that which is most spiritual in man—that which makes man to be a man. It is the liberty of thought and its free expression.

There is a personal history and a general history about the reasons that prompted Milton to write this book. Let us deal with the general history of the subject of the liberty of publication, a part of which, so far as it concerns the ancient and the medieval world is traced by Milton himself in these pages. We will take up the history from the point where Milton leaves it.

(2) *Milton's Love of Liberty the reason for writing this book.*

It is well known that when the art of Printing came into vogue, governments became jealous of this new instrument for influencing opinion. In Catholic countries came the Inquisition. In England in the reign of Queen Mary, the Stationers' Company (that is to say the guild of publishers)

was invested with legal authority for the double purpose of protecting the book trade and exercising vigilance upon writers and their writings. All publications were required to be registered in the Register of the Stationers' Company, one advantage of which, though it was never then thought of, has been this that the date of the publication of a book, say a Quarto of Marlowe or Shakespeare, can be thus easily traced. No person could set up a press without a license, nor could anybody print anything which had not been previously approved by some official censor. The head of this censorial department was the Archbishop of Canterbury, who usually delegated his powers to his chaplain and the Bishop of London and a committee of officers. Over persons who were guilty of this law, the Court of Star Chamber which came to be set up by the Tudors, exercised strict jurisdiction. This court issued its own edicts for the regulation of printing. The arbitrary action of the court in this and other matters had led in no small degree to the unpopularity of Charles I, which had culminated in the harsh action taken against Prynne, a Puritan barrister-at-law for his attack on the stage, called *Histriomastix*. The fall of Charles I however did not lead to the emancipation of the Press. The Presbyterian majority in Parliament who had got the reins of power in their own hands had no desire to part with such an important instrument of repression to be used in the first instance against their enemies. The Star Chamber Court was indeed abolished in 1640, as abolished it was bound to be, considering the hue and cry raised against it by the Puritans. For three years publications were free, but then the powers of the Star Chamber Court to search and seize were transferred to the Company of Stationers. Licensing was to go on as before, but instead of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the

Bishop of London, this was now delegated to a body of special commissioners.

This transfer of power was brought about by an ordinance of Parliament passed on June 14, 1643. It required that all books should be passed by an official censor. The real difference that now came in was this that while formerly Presbyterian books stood prohibited, henceforth Anglican and Catholic books came under the ban. This act of Parliament reflected the increasing determination of the Presbyterians, now in control of Parliament, to reduce English religious practice and opinion to a new uniformity and to silence political opposition.

Now this was not Milton's idea of the liberty of thought and speech in a free commonwealth. He hated the whole licensing system. He had himself written four pamphlets in the Presbyterian interest, but as they were against the episcopalians and palatable to the Presbyterian party, this transgression had passed unnoticed. No murmurs were raised; the offence was winked at. On the Presbyterian side he was licensed to publish unlicensed what he pleased. This was not however to be called *liberty*: it was suffering. That is not what his classics had taught him about liberty, for there he had read that liberty exists in that state "where you can think what you please and utter what you think." We know from a passage in Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, which Mr. Hanford quotes (*A Milton Handbook*, page 88), that his opinions regarding the liberty of the press antedated the ordinance of 1643 and the personal grievance he was soon to have with Parliament in the matter of liberty of publication. In the *Second Defence* Milton expressly writes that he wrote the *Areopagitica* to free the press from restraints.

(3) *Personal Reasons for writing the book.*

There was a personal grievance. It happened that Milton came to publish a pamphlet—as usual unlicensed—where he managed to ventilate opinions which were unpalatable to the Presbyterian majority and which could never have passed through the hands of a Presbyterian censor. Milton's *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* was just ready for the press when the ordinance of 1643 came into force. He published it without a license and without any indication of the names of author, printer, or bookseller. He did so deliberately in defiance of the law—an anticipation of the Civil Disobedience movement of modern India perhaps—and he calmly awaited developments. There were no developments. He repeated the same operation in February, 1644. On this he put his own name as author and dedicated the tract to Parliament whose authority he was calmly defying in publishing it without a license.

There was an acrimonious discussion of toleration following the publication of *An Apologetical Narration* on or before January 3, 1644 by the Independent members of the Westminster Assembly. This led to the attempt on the part of the Assembly to persuade Parliament to enforce against John Goodwin, Roger Williams, John Milton and others the ordinance for licensing the press which had been passed on June 14, 1643. On August 13, 1644, Herbert Palmer preached before Parliament a sermon against toleration in which Milton was condemned as the author of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. On August 24, the Stationers' Company petitioned Parliament for stricter enforcement of the licensing ordinance and cited Milton as one of the transgressors of the law (Masson: *Life of Milton*, III, 161 & 265). The House of Commons

referred the matter to the committee of printing. The committee never submitted its report on the petition. Probably it was considered inexpedient to proceed against so loyal a Parliamentarian. Possibly Cromwell's "accommodation resolution" of September 13, 1644 had roused the victorious Presbyterian zealots to the recognition of the existence in the kingdom of a set of radical opinions that went far beyond Presbyterian orthodoxy.

But the protest made by the Company of Stationers and the resolution of the Commons to refer it to the printing committee had started in Milton's mind a chain of thought that resulted in the *Areopagitica*. He resolved to put up an earnest plea in defence of the liberty of free speech and publication, though he knew that his plea in support of Divorce had fallen on deaf ears.

(4) *The Date.*

The *Areopagitica, for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing* was published in November, 1644. The *Areopagitica* itself in its turn was published in London, unlicensed and unregistered, without printer's or booksellers's name. The motto was taken from Euripides, and printed in the original Greek, which would be absurd nowadays for a document addressed to Parliament in these democratic days when but few members would understand Greek. On the title-page of the copy of the *Areopagitica* in the Thomason Collection appear in Thomason's autograph the words "Ex dono Authoris" (i.e. by a present from the Author) with the date, November, 24.

(5) *The Title.*

Mr. Pattison considers that the title given to this great plea for the liberty of unlicensed publication is not quite

so appropriate. The title is borrowed from the Areopagitic Discourse of Isocrates, but Mr. Pattison thinks that between the latter discourse and that of Milton there is no resemblance. There is no resemblance either in subject or style. Isocrates wrote for the defence of the political liberty of Athens against a foreign foe by the revival or restoration of the authority of the Areopagus, while Milton wrote for the preservation of the liberty of thought against repression attempted by his own government. But both Milton and Isocrates had Liberty in view and offered incense to the goddess in their respective orations. What the two productions have in common is their form. They are both (1) Orations and (2) *unspoken* orations, (3) written to the address of a representative assembly. Isocrates' oration is addressed to the *Boule* or Senate of Athens, Milton's to the Parliament of England. Another point of resemblance between Milton and Isocrates may be noted. Isocrates became a professional teacher, as Milton was at this time. The word *Areopagitica* is the feminine of *Areopagiticus*, which is the Latin form of the Greek adjective *Areopagitikos*. This word *Areopagitica* qualifies the Latin word *Oratio* (i.e. Oration or Speech) understood, in the same way as the Latin word *Philippica* qualifies the word *Oratio* understood and means the *Philippic Orations* of Demosthenes or Cicero—that is to say, the Orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon (father of Alexander the Great), of which the oration called *De Corona* (*About the Crown*) is most famous or the orations of Cicero against Mark Antony, of which the second Philippic is the most famous. *Areopagitica* is the equivalent of the Greek *Areopagitikos Logos* (*Areopagitic Discourse*) which was the title, given to one of the unspoken speeches of the Greek orator Isocrates.

It should be noted that Milton had a weakness to give Greek names to his prose works. He had used such titles as *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion* for two of his Divorce tracts, and later on he used the title *Eikonoklastes* for one of his political tracts. He adopted the title of the celebrated oration of Isocrates because his present work was a discourse, written for the advancement of the public good by a person who though occupying a private station desired to have such access to the public as might enable him to present a direct oration—written though not spoken (as was the case with Isocrates' orations generally) to "States and Governors of the Commonwealth." (*Vide* first paragraph of the *Areopagitica*.)

/(6) *Isocrates*.

Isocrates (436-338 B.C.), the Athenian represents the perfection of "epideictic" oratory,—i.e., oratory in which form and literary finish count for everything, and matter for very little. He received an excellent education. In his youth he heard the orator Gorgias, studied under Prodicus and joined the circle of Socrates. But he abandoned philosophy for speech—writing, which also he gave up when he found, after six speeches, that he had not the practical gifts for winning cases in a court of law. About 390 B.C., he set up as a teacher of oratory, though he professed also to give a general practical education. He drew to him pupils who became subsequently distinguished as statesmen, historians, and orators. He first taught rhetoric at Chios, and afterwards at Athens. At the latter place he met with great success, and gradually acquired a large fortune. He had one hundred pupils every one of whom paid him a thousand drachmae. He himself composed model speeches for his pupils, such as, the *Panegyricus* (380 B.C.) and the *Plataea*-

icus (373 B.C.). But he also wrote speeches intended to be practical. The *Archidamus* might actually have been composed for the Spartan King Archidamus. But the majority, for instance the *Symmachicus*, the *Areopagiticus*, the *Panathenaicus* (342-339 B.C.) and the letters to Philip of Macedon, were designed to be circulated and read—they are in fact the earliest political pamphlets known,—as Milton's *Areopagitica* practically is. As a politician, Isocrates' one idea was to unite all the Greeks together in a joint attack upon the common foe, Persia. With this view he wrote his letters to Philip of Macedon. The outcome was the destruction of Greek freedom by Philip of Macedon at *Chaeroneia* in 338 B.C.,—a blow which, as Milton describes in his sonnet to Lady Margaret Lee, "Killed with report that old man eloquent". [In that sonnet Milton compares the death of Lady Margaret's father in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament in 1628 by King Charles I with the death of Isocrates after the news of the Athenian defeat at Chaeroneia.] For melody, artistic merit, perfection of form and literary finish, Isocrates stands unrivalled, though his work is laboured and his style is apt to become monotonous. Had but one of his works survived, his poverty of thought would never have been discovered, but fate with cruel kindness has preserved nearly everything he wrote. The school of Isocrates exercised great influence not only upon the development of public oratory at Athens, but upon the style of writers in his own and in other countries. The style of Cicero's speeches was in great measure modelled on that of Isocrates; and through Cicero, Isocrates has had much to do with the training of the greatest masters of English prose; notably with that of Milton. Of the twenty-one orations of Isocrates that have come down to us the most celebrated is his *Panegyric* oration in which he shows

what services Athens had rendered to Greece in every period of her history, and contends that Athens, and not Sparta, deserves the supremacy—in Greece. As in Milton's *Areopagitica*, we read his praises of what England has accomplished and how she has been ever in the fore-front of the cause of liberty, and as we glance at his eulogy of the British Parliament, which to Milton is the *Areopagus* of England as well as her *Boule* or Senate, we cannot but think he has these famous passages in the *Panegyricus* in his mind.

(7) *The Areopagitica of Isocrates.*

The Areopagitic Oration of Isocrates was written about the time that Demosthenes was thundering at Philip of Macedon in his *Philippic* orations. Isocrates was then already an old man. Perhaps we may assign the speech to 348 B.C. when Philip had already seized the Greek cities of Amphipolis, Potidaea, and Olynthus in the peninsula of Chalcidicæ, north of the Aegean Sea in spite of the opposition of Athens, but probably he had not yet entered into Greece proper and subdued Phocis, which happened in 346 B.C.

This oration was addressed to the *Boule* or Senate of Athens, in the same way as Milton's speech is addressed to the Lords and Commons of England. It deals with the same subject as the *Philippics* of Demosthenes, viz. : the danger that threatened Athens and the whole of Greece from the aggrandisement of the power of Philip of Macedon. The argument urged by Isocrates to avoid the danger to Athens from Philip's increasing ambition was that the powers of the old *Areopagus* be restored and that Athens should revert from her extreme Democracy as constituted by Pericles to the more moderate Democracy as constituted by Solon and Cleisthenes. But the chief argument was the revival of the supreme authority of the ancient Court of the *Areo-*

pagus, whose powers had altogether declined under Pericles : hence the name *Areopagitica* given to the oration.

(8) *The Areopagus (Areiopagus).*

The word *Areopagus* means the Hill of Ares (i.e. Mars). It was a rocky eminence to the west of, but not far from, the Acropolis or citadel of Athens. It was the place of the meeting of the council which was sometimes called the Upper Council to distinguish it from the *Boule* or Senate of five hundred members which sat in the Cerameicus within the city. It was a body of remote antiquity, acting as a criminal tribunal ; and it had existed long before the time of Solon, who was born in 638 B.C. But Solon modified the constitution of the Areopagus to such an extent that he might almost be called its founder. There is reason to believe that the original constitution was aristocratical, the members being taken from the patrician families. Solon ruled that the Areopagus should be composed of ex-archons i.e. of persons who had been *archons* or the highest magistrates at Athens. There used to be nine *archons* elected every year by the popular Assembly or *Ecclesia*. They held office for that year and later on became members of the *Areopagus* for life, unless they were expelled for misconduct. The *Archons* had once been all nobles, but under Solon a property qualification came in—so that after Solon the Areopagus ceased to be an aristocratic body, but it continued to be aristocratic in spirit. Even when the archons ceased to be elected by suffrage of the *Ecclesia* and came to be chosen by the casting of lots and even after *Aristides* threw open the archonship to the lowest classes at Athens, (viz. : the *Thetes*) the Areopagus continued to be aristocratic in its temperament. Solon extended its functions. Before his time, it was only a criminal court, trying cases of murder, wounding, poisoning

and arson. Solon gave it extensive power of a censorial and political nature. He made this council an overseer over everything and the guardian of the laws. [In addressing Parliament as the British Areopagus, Milton has in mind this guardianship of the laws]. The Areopagites, as the members were called, were superintendents of good order and decency. In the case of heinous crimes, when no accuser appeared, they made investigation on their own authority. They also had duties connected with religion, one of which was to superintend the sacred olives growing about Athens. In general it was their duty to try the impious and irreligious. Thus this Court were an obstacle to the aggrandisement of the democracy at the expense of the other parties in the state. Accordingly, Pericles, who was opposed to the aristocracy, diminished its power and circumscribed its sphere of action. His coadjutor was Ephialtes, a statesman of integrity and a military commander. These two men were opposed not only in the assembly but also on the stage, where Aeschylus produced his tragedy of the *Eumenides*, the object of which was to impress on the Athenians the dignity, sacredness, and constitutional work of the institution which Pericles and Ephialtes sought to reform. Still the opposition failed and a decree was passed by which, as Aristotle says, the Areopagus was "mutilated" and many of its hereditary rights abolished. In revenge, Ephialtes was killed by the conservative party. The jurisdiction of the Areopagus in cases of murder was still left to them. Its jurisdiction in other cases was transferred to the new Dicastery courts instituted by Pericles, which were jury courts, the members of which were paid a small allowance. Thus shorn of a good deal of their authority, the Areopagus still continued to function in name at least till a very late period. We find Cicero (106 B.C.-43 B.C.) mentioning the Areopagus

in his *Letters* as an institution that was still at work, and as late as 380 A.D. under the emperors Gratian and Theodosius, an individual is spoken of as an *Areopagite*, i.e. a member of the *Areopagus*. The case of St. Paul is generally quoted (Vide *Acts* XVII) as an instance of the authority of the *Areopagus* in religious matters ; but the words of the sacred historian do not necessarily imply that he was brought before the council for trial. It may however be remarked that the *Areopagites* certainly took cognizance of new and unauthorized forms of religious worships called *Epitheta hiera*, to distinguish them from *Patria hiera*, the older rites of the state. In the Bible, (*Acts* XVII, 19) we are told that St. Paul was taken to the *Areopagus* because he was believed to be preaching about strange gods. The Hill of Mars, where the *Areopagus* met is referred to in *Acts* XVII, 22. We are told that some men at Athens accepted St. Paul's views,—among whom was the *Areopagite*, Dionysius, *Acts*, XVII, 34).

(9) *Milton's Areopagitica : General Character and Contents (with illustrative extracts).*

Areopagitica is the best of Milton's prose works, because, says Mr. Tillyard (*Milton*, p. 156), it expresses more of his mind than any other of his prose works. It is also the summit of one period of his development, comparable to *Lycidas*, which was at once the crowning poem of Milton's youth and the promise of what ought to follow. (Not only does the *Areopagus* express more of his mind : it is more economical in expression. There is little waste. Fortunately few scriptural passages bear on the subject of the liberty of thought and Milton was spared the uncongenial thought of text-hunting. The book is written in the form of an Oration or Speech addressed to Parliament.)

Critics like Mr. Tillyard find a special interest in the *Areopagitica*, because some of the thoughts contained in it take us forward to the ideas in *Paradise Lost*. There is much in common between the *Areopagitica* and the anti-episcopalian pamphlets—particularly in Milton's defence of sects and schisms and the optimistic hope for a speedy national reformation. "The flowery comparison of himself to Isocrates and the appeal to Plato, whose authority in this case is against books generally, is truly in a Renaissance manner. The whole plea that the free publishing of books is founded on freedom and width of choice is instinct with the notion that life is worthless without activity, and the more valuable, as it is the more active". [Tillyard, pp. 156-157]. "Our faith and knowledge," says Milton, "thrive by exercise, as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compared in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." (*Vide* p. 49).

Milton does not love conformity for conformity's sake, or tradition for tradition's sake. Thought must be dynamic and must always march forward. We cannot cling to the past. We cannot cling to old, blind ideas of virtue. Let there be liberty of thought, that new thought may cure old errors and give a further stimulus to the search for truth. To hold that England had reached the pinnacle of Reformation in religion, (as the Presbyterians were inclined to hold) was a mistake. Truth still remains in the distance. Our present knowledge is after all limited. Let us not retard the search for truth, and let every one freely utter his thoughts, for each man can add a cubit to our knowledge—this is the main argument.

He cannot put up with the cowardly fear that sects and

heresies will multiply. Truth and virtue can thrive only by battling down error and vice, not by ignoring them or keeping them in the dark. Virtue must advance and do battle with vice in a fare field, without favour. The same applies to truth, which gets the more fortified, the more it meets and smites down error. The idea is stated by Milton in one of his grandest utterances :—

“I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversery, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.” (*Vide* p. 22).

That virtue which has never come in contact with evil, but must ever live in *purdah* is in Milton's view no virtue at all :—

“That virtue, therefore, which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure ; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness ; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, describing true temperance under the person of Sir Guyon brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain.” (*Vide* p. 22).

Milton considers it a gross atrocity to suppress thought and was not prepared to compromise with the liberty of publication, though he makes an exception in the case of Roman Catholic propaganda. He compared the suppression of books to murder. The following is one of his tersest utterances in the *Areopagitica*, which has passed into a maxim :—

"As good almost kill a man, as kill a good book." (*Vide* p. 7.).

Oration:

This sentence is remarkable both for the strength and nobility of the thought expressed, the pithy terseness of the language, and the Saxon vocabulary in which it is couched, which comes as a refreshing zephyr over the vast, arid tracts of Latin diction which characterises Milton's prose.

In the peroration of the speech, Milton reminds Parliament of the past greatness of the British nation, and as we have said above, in penning these lines while he breathes in them a passionate earnestness, there is no doubt his periods are influenced by the noble tribute that Isocrates paid to Athens in his *Panegyricus*. A trace of the great Funeral Oration of Pericles must have influenced the periods that make up this peroration: —

Influence of Isocrates
 "Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is whereof ye are and whereof ye are the governors: a Nation not so slow and dull, but of a quiet, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore, the studies of learning in her deepest sciences have been so ancient and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and ablest judgment have been persuaded that even the school of Pythagoras and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old philosophy of this island. And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agricola, who governed once here for Caesar, preferred the natural wits of Britain before the laboured studies of the French, etc." (*Vide* p. 61).

This is very patriotic and meant to appeal to the patriotic sentiment of Parliament and as is the natural aim of a Peroration intended to enlist the sympathy of the audience in favour of the speaker's plea. But like all such patriotic

utterances, a liberal discount must be made to sift the truth from the patriotic nonsense. It is true that the ancient Druids believed in *Metempsychosis* or the doctrine of the Transmigration of the Souls : but Pythagoras was more likely to be influenced by Egypt and the East, than by Druidical doctrine, Milton's sole authority being the notes of Lipsius on Drayton's *Polyolbion* ; as for the Persian wisdom being derived from the Druidical, Milton had no other authority than a cryptical passage in the *Natural History* of the elder Pliny. It is not necessary to stress the fact that the British nation of Milton's time was a far more composite product than the ancient British had ever been.

And then in the penultimate paragraph of this glorious peroration comes the following glorious outburst about the greatness of his country :—

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms." (*Vide* p. 63.)

"Here the orator has turned poet : he is both eloquent and emotional, pictorial and melodious, all at the same time. We see in these lines something of the grand similes that distinguish *Paradise Lost*. The oratory here is an earnest of the poetry that was to come.

Milton's direct object is to denounce the ordinance of June 14, 1643, by which the Long Parliament had once more muzzled the English Press, after three years of per-

fect liberty to authors and publishers, viz. after the suppression of the Star Chamber Court in 1640. Milton traces the history of the regulation of books from the classical times to the Inquisition and the Star Chamber Court and denounces the ordinance of 1643 as a new form of the tyranny of the Inquisition. He argues against the embargo thus laid on the diffusion of truth, shows its ill effects on the nation and the licensers themselves, proves the impossibility of any particular body of censors being posted in all subjects, and affirms this prohibitive legislation cannot stop the growth of new sects and schisms. He takes the growth of sects rather as a sign of the vitality of society and the free play of truth. He thinks the order will benefit none except those who slavishly cling to the old order of things and those preachers who are too dull for the reception of new truths and are fain to concoct their sermons from the flotsam and jetsam of existing breviaries, summaries, interlinearies, and the mass of old sermons floating about the country. But new books often mean a new spirit and without a new spirit being infused in it from time to time no society can live. Great authors will not willingly submit to the humiliation of censorship at the hands of men immensely inferior to them in knowledge and experience. To murder truth is worse than homicide—for books contain the very spirit of an author. For “a good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.” (*Vide* p. 7.) “He who kills a man kills a reasonable man, God’s image, but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of man as it were in the eye”. Milton devotes a fairly long consideration to the argument that bad books may vitiate a nation’s morals and therefore it is better to censor them. Milton counters this argument with the ques-

tion how can any number of censors in the world stop the flood-gates of vice and immorality which assail society from all sides—from our amusement and recreations, from the songs and ballads? “Who shall silence all the airs and madrigals that whisper softness in chambers?” (*Vide* p. 30.) God himself exposed Adam to temptation, but He wanted Adam to use his reason and get the victory over his passions which he failed to do. (*Vide* p. 32.) By the licensing system you may perhaps restrain a number of frivolous men from vice; but you restrain the good man unnecessarily. “For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person more than the restraint of ten vicious.” (*Vide* p. 33.) This is perhaps an undemocratic opinion, but it is quite consistent with the psychology of a Renaissance thinker.

Milton was aware that the mood of Parliament was changed and the Presbyterian majority who were strongly entrenched in Parliament after the fall of Laud and Strafford were going to put up a “new tyranny in place of the old.” He therefore repeatedly turns to the charge of the tyranny and caprice of the licensers and the humiliation of it to independent writers. Milton turns his invective against the Presbyterians,—the party he had formerly defended against the Episcopalians—

“If some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching shall come now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some but a second tyranny over learning; and will soon put it out of controversy, that bishops and presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing.” (*Vide* p. 46.)

Milton has thus passed through a new experience since he defended the Presbyterians against the Episcopalians.

He has found them to be birds of the same feather. This has disillusioned him. He has no longer any faith in Utopias :—

X' To sequester out of the world into Atlantic and Utopian politics, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition ; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evil, in the midst whereof God has placed us unavoidably." (*Vide* pp. 30-31.)

Yet he idealises Truth, though Truth has always come into this world in a mangled form. He compares the search for fragmentary truth to the search of Isis for the mangled remains of her husband the god Osiris, after he had been mangled and mutilated by Typhon :—

"From that time ever since the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, nor ever shall do, till her Master's second coming." (*Vide* pp. 54-55.)

In the *Areopagitica*, Milton definitely adopts the doctrine of *Free Will* and turns back upon the doctrine of *Predestination* favoured by Calvin and the Puritans. It would really be an astonishing thing, if Milton had ever seriously taken up the *Predestination* stand-point. In the *Areopagitica* his view is clear *viz.* we can choose between good and evil—but the same problem is again presented in *Paradise Lost*, Books II and III :—

N "Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up almost inseparably together ; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds which were imposed on Psyche as an incessant labour to cull out and sort

asunder, were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evil leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil; that is to say knowing good by evil." (*Vide* p. 21.)

This is an argument for not suppressing books, because most of them will contain both truth and untruth, which it will be difficult to separate, but for the sake of the truth, the untruth also must go forth into the world—otherwise truth itself will be suppressed. This is an argument used by J. S. Mill in his *Liberty* and repeated by John Merley in *On Compromise*:

But man has got Reason to help weed out the untruth from the truth, as Adam had Reason to help weed out the evil from the good. It is foolish, says Milton, "to complain of divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for *reason is but choosing*; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions." (*Vide* pp. 31-32.)

~~Reason is but choosing.~~—Yes, man has reason and the free will to make his choice between good and evil. Otherwise man were but a dummy in a divine game of bridge!

There is a particular reason to guard against loss of truth and virtue. God has given us choice of both, but you must not cut off the evil so as to lose the good—

"Suppose we could expel evil by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue, the matter of them being the same. Remove that and ye remove them both alike." (*Vide* pp. 32-33.) God has spread out before us a banquet of all desirable things, and though they may be mixed up with an alloy of undesirable things, we have to choose out of His abundance. God commands

us to be temperate, just, and self-restrained, but He is bountiful, not niggardly. He gives us plenty to choose from—let us have plenty of books too to choose from for our true enjoyment and edification, for “God has given us *minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety.*” (*Vide* p. 33.)

These are the *thoughts that wander through Eternity*, referred to in Book II of *Paradise Lost*. Here Milton stands for an *intensity* of life, a life of full intellectual enjoyment and a variegated diet, yet thoughtfully restrained, lest we dissipate that on which all true satisfaction must rest.

(10) *The Autobiographic content in the Areopagitica.*

Some of the prose tracts of Milton are full of autobiographical matter, such as *Of Reformation in England*, *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*, *The Reason of Church Government*, *Apology for Smectymnuus*, and particularly the *Second Defence of the English People*. In the last mentioned book, Milton enters upon an elaborate review of his past life and tells us how from the beginning he had dedicated himself to the writing of a great poem in English, “which the world would not willingly let die”. There also he tells us his reason for writing the *Areopagitica*, viz. “in order to deliver the press from the restraints with which it was encumbered”, without entering upon his own grievance or mentioning the petition of the Stationers' Company to Parliament. We should not be surprised at Milton's copious infusion of autobiographical matter in his tracts, when we remember that even in *Paradise Lost* he has not hesitated to do so. (*Cf. Paradise Lost* III, 1-55 ; VII, 1-39 ; IX, 1-47 etc.)

In this regard, however, the *Areopagitica* is rather an ex-

ception. There is little of autobiographic detail in it. Such as there is will be briefly described here.

v. In the beginning of the *Areopagitica*, Milton briefly refers to his former writings and he tells us that he has in the past praised Parliament for their praiseworthy qualities and achievements, without stooping to flattery. (*Vide* pp. 3-4). Here he is really alluding to his anti-episcopalian writings, though he does not go deep into this subject. At page 4, he tells us that his life has been "wholly dedicated to studious labours."

Milton does not go into particulars about the petition made against him by the Stationers' Company, but he cannot refrain towards the end of the *Areopagitica* giving expression to his opinion about the hypocritical pretences of the fraternity and their hidden self-interest when they put themselves in the attitude of trying to "bind books to their good behaviour." (*Vide* p. 74.)

But the principal topic of autobiographic interest in this book is Milton's reference to his Italian journey, where he found the Italian people envious of the liberty of thought and speech Englishmen enjoyed, while they remained crushed under the yoke of the tyranny of the Inquisition. Such was the effect of this tyranny in Italy that Milton found that "it had damped the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had been written (there) now these many years but flattery and fustian". Then Milton proceeds to speak eloquently about Galileo whom Milton had met in Italy, and to whom he again refers in *Paradise Lost*. "There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscans and the Dominican licensers thought. And though I knew that England was then groaning loudest under the prelatical yoke, nevertheless I

took it as a pledge of future happiness, that other nations were so persuaded of our liberty." (*Vide* p. 44.)

Milton refers to the fact that even then there were alive leaders in England who were destined to encompass England's liberty, though then he knew it not. For he proceeds—

"Yet was it beyond my hope, that those worthies were then breathing the air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance, as shall never be forgotten by any revolution of time, that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts uttered against the Inquisition, the same I should hear, by as learned men at home, uttered in time of parliament against an order of licensing; and that so generally that when I had disclosed myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest quæstorship had endeared himself to the Sicilians, was not more by them importuned against Verres, than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should to bring into my mind, towards the removal of an undeserved thralldom upon learning." (*Vide* p. 45.)

Here Milton refers to the fact (1) of leaders at home whom he little suspected at an earlier time, but who had delivered his country from tyranny, (2) that the deliverers had set up a new tyranny against books, imitating the action of the former tyrants, and (3) that in writing these books he is treading in the foot-steps of Cicero, for as the latter undertook the impeachment of the Roman governor Verres at the request of the oppressed inhabitants of Sicily,

Milton is making this war against the licensing system at the request of many learned contemporaries whom Parliament themselves honoured and respected.

There is no other evidence in support of the last statement made in the above extract from page 45 of the text. The whole subject of the *autobiographical* content of *Milton's prose works* is beautifully discussed in Hanford's *A Milton Handbook* (pp. 9, 12-18, 24-27, 35-39 etc.) and the autobiographical passages themselves have been collected together and exhibited to view in Dr. Hiram Corson's *An Introduction to the Prose and Poetical Works of John Milton* (pp. 1-103).

(11) *The Form of the Book and the Main Heads of Thought.*

The *Areopagitica* is an Oration, though not actually delivered. An Oration consists of *three* parts, *viz.* :—

(1) The *Exordium*.

(2) The *Argument* often preceded by a historical review.

(3) The *Peroration*.

Milton conforms to the principles of oratory as laid down in Quintilian and embodied in Demosthenes and Cicero.

The *Exordium* is the commencement of the address in which the speaker sets forth the purpose of his speech or the genesis of the case he defends. But a very important part of an *exordium* is for the speaker to try to ingratiate himself or his client with the audience. Here Milton sets forth his hopes and fears in making this speech, and in the second paragraph he tells his audience that he writes his speech—since it is a *written* and not a *spoken* speech—in defence of civil liberty. In the same breath he proceeds to compliment Parliament, saying he is writing in defence of that civil liberty which the leaders of Parliament itself

have preserved for England under the guidance of the Lords and Commons of England. Then he proceeds to ingratiate himself further with his audience by stating that he is not *flattering* them. He *praises* them. He shows the difference between praise and flattery. He has in the past praised Parliament in his other works. Thus the speaker turns to his past record to make the audience more propitious. Having praised Parliament for their good deeds in the past, he has earned a right to criticise them for what is worth censuring at present. He further compliments Parliament on their reasonableness and their love of truth and uprightness. This finishes the Exordium which extends up to page 5.

~~2~~ Milton now comes to the Argument and he urges Parliament to rescind the recent licensing orders. He sets forth his arguments thus :

- (1) He will prove that there is no precedence for licensing books in ancient history and that censorship is a child of the Inquisition—a bad model for England to follow. (pp. 5-16.)
- (2) That the general reading of books is of high value for the dieting of the mind. (Pages 16-20.)
- (3) That the order of Parliament is *useless*,—not of any positive value. (Pages 20-37.)
- (4) It is not only useless but pernicious and it discourages learning and obstructs the discovery and diffusion of truth. (Pages 37-60.)

The first argument is historical and there is a historical review. Milton proves that censorship was not known at Athens, Sparta, Rome, in the Roman Empire when it became Christian, and that it arose only after 800 A.D., when the Pope introduced it with the Inquisition, with its

Index of Prohibited Books and its Index of Books to be Expurgated. In the classical world only (1) libellous and (2) blasphemous books were forbidden. Ovid was apparently banished for his *licentious* writings, but really for state reasons.

The second argument is partly historical. The examples of Paul, Jerome, Eusebius are quoted to show that they appreciated classical studies and general knowledge. Julian the Apostate tried to discredit Christianity by forbidding them classical studies, which only shows their value. In this world good is intermixed with evil and truth and virtue are not possible without knowledge of heresy and vice. A promiscuous course of reading makes the best diet for the mind. To suppress books for fear of infection of heresy would lead to the suppression of all books including the Bible itself. From controversial books little infection of heresy or error can come. If infection is such a fearful thing, what about the licensers themselves? Are you not exposing them to infection?

The third argument that this ordinance of Parliament is actually useless begins at page 20. The licensing system is so useless that the ancient world did not care to think of it. You cannot stop vice by suppressing books. Vice will enter in a hundred ways, and you will require all sorts of licensers for all sorts of amusements. We have to deal with the world as it is : not with an Utopia. God has given us reason to choose. If we could expel sin by suppression, we would also expel a certain amount of virtue. Books freely used conduce to the exercise of virtue and truth. A dram of well-doing is to be preferred before many times as much of forcible hindrance of evil-doing. If the order against books is to be effective you will have to make lists of forbidden

books and prevent their importation from abroad. You will have to follow the machinery of the Inquisition. But all the Inquisition in the world has not improved the morals of Spain and Italy.

From page 37 Milton begins his *fourth* and longest argument. Not only will the censorship produce no good but it will be actually pernicious. It will teach lazy habits to our clergymen and leaders. They will cease to think for themselves. A reign of dull mediocrity will follow, because people will learn to take their ideas ready-made from the licensers. Again the works of great scholars are subjected to gross indignity by the licensing system. What scholar would care to write a book, if it is to undergo such a humiliating scrutiny? You cannot treat great authors as school-boys. For all this, vicious writings will multiply and only good writings will be punished! There is also the danger to give a premium value to false doctrines, when the propounders of them are persecuted. For as Bacon said: "the punishing of wits enhances their authority." The ordinance against books will prove a step-mother to Truth, but a nursing mother to sects and schisms. Our faith thrives by knowledge and exercise, not by remaining passive and taking things on authority. Henceforth ministers of the church will rely more on synopses and breviaries than on reading original works. Our richest merchandise is Truth, but the licensing system places it under a blockade. We cannot say our Reformation of the Church has already reached its climax. By looking at the glory of Zwingli and Calvin, we should not remain dazzled in stark blindness. More searching of the truth is still necessary.

This argument extends up to page 60. Each of these four arguments comprises many smaller arguments, and there is a good deal of statement and answering of objec-

tions. There is also a certain amount of repetition of ideas. But the case is clearly proved.

Finally at page 61 begins the grand *Peroration*. 'In the *Peroration*, an orator is supposed to gather the threads of the preceding argument and review them in a summary form. It also makes a further appeal for the sympathy of the audience.

Milton's *Peroration* begins with an eulogy of England and his past record and an appreciation of Wycliffe and the Lollards. England's predisposition for knowledge is extolled. England is bound to be a nation of prophets and sages. Let the leaders be wiser in the spiritual reconstruction of England. Our supposed schisms will triumph over our honest fears. The brave spirit of Englishmen shown in grave discussion is like that of the Roman gentleman who bought at auction the very ground on which the victorious Hannibal lay encamped. The English nation is like a mighty eagle renewing its youth. Parliament cannot stop this flowery crop of knowledge. Liberty is the nurse of wit, and the greatest of all liberties is the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely. As long as Truth remains in the field, it will be an injury for us to doubt her strength by licensing and prohibition.

Milton then reviews his arguments. We should not insist on the rigid system of Calvin. For any discussion, we should be ready to accept a challenge. Truth needs no strategems. Let Truth speak freely with her own voice and in her own image. But Truth may come in many forms. It is not a monopoly of one side against another. We need not worry ourselves about the growth of sects and schisms. What is the use of a lukewarm outward conformity? If we cannot be all of one mind, it is better to have toleration rather than compulsion. Even in the case

of Catholicism, persuasion should be tried before force. Milton would not tolerate absolute evil or impiety: he would tolerate small differences in doctrine or discipline. But we should never resort to prohibition like the Jesuits. God dispenses his light in small portions and His light may come from any source. If the leaders of sects are in error, nothing prevents our meeting and answering them. Milton hopes that none of those who defied the old licensing system are responsible for the new one. But if there are any such, the sooner these suppressors of liberty are suppressed the better. The best regulation of books is to prohibit publication of books without the names of author and publisher. But there is no justification for the present licentious system of licensing which has been imported from the Spanish Inquisition.

Nearly one-fifth of the book is devoted to the Peroration, which starts nobly, but unfortunately its interest flags in the very end by excess of argument,—which is really a defect in management. The Peroration extends from page 61 to 75. It begins with a noble eulogy of England. Its middle is taken up with a call for toleration and a pæan to liberty. It ends with a defence of sects, for Truth may come in many forms. The practical decision to give no quarter to the Catholics saps the strength of the main argument of the book. But the earlier part of the Peroration contains some of the best prose that Milton wrote, especially the famous sentences at page 63, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation etc."

In spite of this multiplicity of argument—for there are arguments within arguments and the concluding part of the Peroration itself is nothing but fresh skirmishing with arguments,—the *main beliefs* of Milton in the *Areopagitica*

may be briefly outlined as under, in the words of Mr. Tillyard :—

“Man is born with the seeds of good and evil in him : mere environment cannot determine his character : in the most favourable environment evil may come out. But man has the power of choice and knowing both good and evil it is possible for him to choose good. The present world may not ever be perfect, but it may be very much better. It is reasonable to have very high hopes ; and it still seems likely that in spite of set-backs, some great good is to happen to England in the immediate future. There is therefore every incentive for the noblest and most strenuous action.” (Tillyard : *Milton*, p. 161.)

(A fuller view of the *Argument* will be found, given in *italics*, at the head of each paragraph, summarising its contents.)

(12) *Criticism.*

“Milton's *Speech* is in his best style” says Mr. Pattison, “a copious flood of majestic eloquence, the outpouring of a noble soul with a divine scorn of narrow dogma and paltry aims.” But it is a mere pamphlet, prepared in haste and elaborated in at most one or two months, with no attempt to formulate general principles and with some disregard of logical method, and with repetitions.—A jurist's subject is here handled by a rhetorician. He has preached a noble and heart-stirring sermon on the text of Liberty and Truth, but the practical problem for the legislator remains where it was. The concession made at the end for the suppression of books written in the interest of Catholicism deprives the argument of a good deal of its logical consistency. His toleration of opinion is thus far from complete. He cannot tolerate “mischievous and libel-

lous books " and he cannot tolerate Popery and open superstition, which would extirpate all religious and civil superstitions.

From the point of view of a modern political philosopher, it is clear that an excessive weightage is conceded to the Bible and the Fathers of the Church. Too much is made of Paul, Jerome, Eusebius—their words and their actions, as if that really forms a convincing argument. Such arguments cannot convince the modern reader, however much they carried weight with Milton's contemporaries. So the fact that St. Paul ordered the books of the magicians at Ephesus to be burnt, does not in the eyes of the modern reader, prove the case either way. With the lay reader of to-day, Paul's actions or opinions cannot carry more weight than those of another man, at least not the weight they seem to carry with Milton and his immediate audience. Patristic testimony has ceased to serve as a proof in modern philosophy.

The book is full of *personal arguments*. Because censorship is the abhorred child of the Inquisition, Milton wants Parliament to condemn it. He expects they will not like to have an unholy alliance with the Inquisition and the Catholic Church. But the form of an *Oration* which Milton has taken up to express his thoughts naturally invites such *personal arguments*.

In a paragraph at the close, Milton hints that the time may come to suppress the suppressors of truth. It has come perhaps in modern times, but each generation has its own suppression of the truth. In India the time to suppress the suppressors of truth does not seem to have yet dawned. The gags have not been yet removed from the Indian Press, though we have no licensing system as such in vogue—though even at times and in exceptional cases,

instances are not wanting when a particular newspaper has been placed under a censor.

In making this remark Milton could have no anticipation of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) in England or the Indian Defence Act, of these our benighted days. The ordinary Indian Press Act is bad enough asking newspapers to deposit sums of money with the city magistrate in advance to ensure their being on good behaviour in future.

But Milton is speaking of the Presbyterian suppressors of truth and he threatens them that they will be suppressed—and they have been suppressed! Milton seems to have had an obscure idea in his mind that the tyranny of the Royalist Party had been succeeded by another tyranny,—that of the Presbyters—and that the second tyranny would have to be overthrown as well as the first. Cromwellian England did see to that in course of time and Milton agreed with Cromwell. But in 1644, Milton was not prepared to break off completely with the Presbyterians, though he ventilates his grievance that the Puritan laity, who had cast out the Bishops, were content to have implicit faith in their pastor, “a factor to whose care and credit” the layman “may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs.”

(13) *The result of the Publication of the Areopagus.*

(The *Areopagitica* produced no effect on the government of the day. The licensing system continued.) But individual licensers became more lax in the performance of their duty, but this is rather to be ascribed to the growing spirit of independence—a spirit which, says Mr. Pattison, was incompatible with any embargo on the utterance of private opinion. Milton's plea for liberty, says Mr. Hanford, (*A Milton Handbook*, p. 90) failed in its purpose of bringing about an immediate repeal of the licensing act, but it was

employed when the issue was again raised in 1679 and 1693. For in those two years were published two pamphlets on the same subject, which were practically abridgments of *Areopagitica*. The Ordinance of 1643 was renewed several times in the commonwealth. It was again renewed in 1662 and in 1681 and in 1692 for two years. When the question of its renewal from 1694 came before Parliament in 1693, there was a sort of protest and the question was allowed to be shelved. (Vide : Macaulay's *History of England*, II, 162). Thus since 1694, in the reign of William III, there has been no censorship in England. The liberty of the press was finally secured in the reign of William III—that is in 1694. The French politician Mirabeau, on the eve of the French Revolution used Milton's work for the substance of his pamphlet on the freedom of the press.

A curious epilogue to the history of the *Areopagus* is the fact (brought to light by Masson in his *Life of Milton*) that the author of the *Areopagitica*, at a later period, acted himself in the capacity of a licenser. It was in 1651 under the Commonwealth, Marchmond Needham being the editor of the weekly paper called *Mercurius Politicus*, that Milton was associated with him as his censor or supervising editor. Masson conjectures that the leading articles of the *Mercurius* during part of the year 1651 most probably received touches from Milton's pen. This appointment was after all rather in the nature of a co-editor whose business it was to see that nothing improper went into the paper rather than that of a strict press licenser in the sense in which Milton had denounced it in *Areopagitica*. In any case, Edward Phillips in his life of his poet-uncle reports that while Milton was residing at his house at Petty-France for eight years before the Restoration, Mr. Marchmond Needham was one of those friends who frequently visited him at his house.

(14) *The Style.*

Mr. Tillyard (*Milton*, p. 156) calls *Areopagitica* Milton's chief "song of hope". After its publication Milton exhibits growing symptoms of disillusionment with the Presbyterian Revolution.

Milton speaks in this book as an English Protestant. But his principles are as vital and vigorous to-day as they were in his time. Not only is the *Areopagitica*, Milton's greatest prose work, but it is, as Mr. Hanford says, (*A Milton Handbook*, p. 90), one of those few books which are capable, as John Morley said of Mill's *Essay on Liberty*, of adding a cubit to a man's intellectual stature.

John Morley himself in his *On Compromise* has based many of his arguments on those which Milton had first urged in *Areopagitica*. His references to Milton in dealing with the question of compromise as regards Liberty of Speech are more frequent even than his references to J. S. Mill.

The book conforms to the principles of oratory as laid down by Cicero and Quintilian. It would seem that Milton had studied with great care the art of oratory as described in the pages of Greek and Roman rhetoricians. One result of this study is *Areopagitica*, an Isocratean plea for liberty and the second the noble eloquence of the speeches in Book II of *Paradise Lost*.

Mr. Pattison characterises the speech as being in Milton's best style, with a "copious flood of majestic eloquence, the out-pouring of a noble soul with a divine scorn of narrow dogma and paltry aims." Milton's was the first formal plea on the subject of the liberty of the press. But he dealt with the subject with all the resources of the learning of the day, as also an independent mind.

Concerning Milton's prose style, the most diverse opinions have been held. Milton doubtless did his best to express himself quite as clearly in his prose as in his poetry. But it is clear to the critical reader that the clarity and the music that inhere in his verse are rarely and only at intervals found in his prose. Mr. Pattison, while stating that Milton's pamphlets have the virtue of style and that they are monuments of the English language so remarkable that they must always be resorted to by students as long as English remains a medium of ideas, complains that his prose compares unfavourably with that of Hooker, whose "elaborate sentence, like the sentence of Demosthenes, is composed of parts so hinged, of clauses so subordinated to the main thought, that we foresee the end from the beginning; and close the period with a sense of perfect roundness and totality". "But", says Mr. Pattison, "Milton does not seem to have any notion of what a period means. He begins anywhere, and leaves off, not when the sense closes, but when he is out of breath." Mr. Pattison thinks that this cannot be explained or excused on the ground that he wrote off in extreme haste according to party requirements, because in his *History of Britain* written at a time of considerable leisure he evinces the same incoherent sentence structure.

Elsewhere Mr. Pattison describes Milton's prose pamphlets as "a plunge into the depths of vulgar scurrility and libel below the level of average gentility and education." That is always when Milton is blinded by the heat of party politics, as in *Eikonoklastes* where we see him writing in a tone of "rude railing and insolent swagger."

Milton "piles clause on clause, links conjunction to conjunction, regardless of breath, or sense, or the most ordinary laws of grammar". Mr. Saintsbury says: "The second sentence of his first prose work contains about four hundred

words, and is broken in the course of them like a wounded snake". At the very outset of the *Areopagitica* we are amazed to see a row of sentences with forced inversions or broken syntax.

✓ The scurrility in Milton's pamphlets referred to by Mr. Pattison is not redeemed by the saving grace of *Humour*. Of humour Milton is absolutely devoid. He has flashes of wit, though not many; his indignation of itself sometimes makes him really sarcastic. Many instances of sarcasm can be singled out from the pages of *Areopagitica*. But humorous he is never.

"Nevertheless", says Mr. Saintsbury, "be it Milton's faults and his merits as a prose writer are of the most remarkable and interesting character. The former consist chiefly in the reckless haste with which he constructs (or rather altogether neglects the construction of) his periods and sentences, in an occasional confusion with those of Latin syntax which are only applicable to a fully inflected language with the rules necessary in a language so destitute of inflections as English, and in a lavish and sometimes both needless and tasteless adaptation of Latin words. All these were faults of the time, but it is true that they are faults which Milton, like his contemporaries Taylor and Browne, aggravated almost wilfully. Of the three, Milton, owing no doubt to the fury which animated him, is by far the most faulty and uncritical. Taylor is the least remarkable of the three for classicisms either of syntax or vocabulary; and Browne's excesses in this respect are deliberate. Milton's are the effect of blind passion."

✓ "Yet the passages which diversify and relieve his prose works," continues Mr. Saintsbury, "are far more beautiful in their kind than anything to be found elsewhere in English prose. Though he never transgresses into purely poetical

rhythm, the solemn music of his own best verse is paralleled in these; and the rugged and grandiose vocabulary (it is particularly characteristic of Milton that he mixes the extremist vernacular with the most exquisite and scholarly phrasing) is fused and moulded with an altogether extraordinary power. Nor can we notice less the abundance of striking phrase, now quaint, now grand, now forcible, which in short clauses and "jewels five words long" occurs constantly, even in the passages least artistically finished as wholes. There is no English prose author whose prose is constantly racy with such a distinct and varied savour as Milton's." Neither Hooker nor Jeremy Taylor impresses the reader with a sense of the unlimited power such as we feel to reside in Milton. "Vast as is the wealth of magnificent words which he flings with both hands carelessly upon the page, we feel that there is still much more in reserve. As Milton advanced in age he gradually disused the compound words he had been in the habit to make for himself". However this may be, his words are the words of one who made a study of language, as a poet studies language, "searching its capacities for the expression of surging emotions. Jeremy Taylor's prose is poetical prose. Milton's prose is not poetical prose, but a different thing the prose of a poet,—not loaded with imagery on the outside, but coloured by imagination from within".

Mr. Saintsbury adds: "One other peculiarity, or rather one result of these peculiarities, remains to be noticed; and that is that Milton's prose is essentially *inimitable*. It would be difficult even to caricature or to parody it; and to imitate it as his verse, at least his later verse, has been so often imitated, is simply impossible".

Rich and powerful Milton's prose certainly is, as coming from such a master of language and it yields in the highest

degree the pleasure of luxurious expression. But as Mr. Saintsbury has warned us, it is a prose to be enjoyed, (if we rise to that degree of intellectual eminence which will enable us to enjoy it), but it is certainly not a prose to be imitated. This applies to all the great masters of prose, such as De Quincey or Carlyle. To attempt a servile imitation will have only one result, and that is, ludicrous.

A fact that has been noted by Mr. Pattison and Mr. Saintsbury, must be restated here. It is easier to follow Milton's poetry than his prose. In poetry the laws of rhythm serve to save him from diffuseness, though Milton's blank verse sentences often run into paragraphs. Both in Milton's prose and his verse, we will find the same kind of imagery. For instance in the peroration to the *Areopagitica*, the image of the eagle that is used for the English nation might easily have been transferred by Milton into a more poetical sentence. Both in his verse and his prose, Milton tries to be *sensuous* and *passionate*. But there can be no doubt in the quality of simplicity. Milton's prose cannot rank with his verse, and that is saying a good deal, when we remember that the quality of his blank verse, however gorgeous and majestic, lacks a good deal of the quality of simplicity when we make a comparative estimate of Milton with other English poets.

It is useless to attempt to compare the prose of Milton with that of a man like Bacon. The one is so terse and epigrammatic, the other profuse and periodic. Nor will it do to compare Milton's prose with that of a nineteenth century humorist like Lamb or Hazlitt. All these men write a prose of a different *genre* and there are no points of contact between them. In any case the *Areopagitica* is a discourse—a highly argumentative discourse and can scarcely

furnish points of comparison with other English masterpieces.

But the *Peroration* of the speech, which is perhaps the most remarkable thing about it—though there are many other striking passages which are elsewhere quoted (*Vide* the section of this *Introduction*, entitled : *Milton's Areopagitica : General Character and Contents, with illustrative Extracts.*)—and deserves close study and appreciation, ought to be compared with the perorations in other famous speeches. Milton's Peroration, as remarked elsewhere, has a great kinship with the famous Burial Speech of Pericles in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

One consideration, which has its repercussions on the question of style is often lost sight of. Controversial literature in itself has few admirers in after ages. By far the greater part of Milton's pamphlets was written on subjects which have ceased to have any interest for us. Only the *Tractate on Education* and the *Areopagitica* deal with subjects of universal interest and of these the *Areopagitica* shows Milton's prose at its best.

(15) *Some Critiques on the Areopagitica and on Milton's Prose Works.*

- ✓ (1) A. C. WARD (*Foundations of English Prose*, pp. 144-145).¹

"A written argument need not necessarily depend upon anything other than a straightforward presentation of ideas to the mind of the reader, since he is able to read as slowly and ponder as long as he chooses. . . . But an audience, listening continuously, has only moments for meditation, and a speaker who desires to convince his hearers must reinforce his argument by some emotional appeal for the emotions are swayed more quickly than the mind. A clever speaker

could take *Areopagitica* and, delivering it aloud, stir the emotions even of twentieth-century listeners. Milton's cadences and climaxes are so designed as to give to his prose the strong emotional appeal of fine poetry. Each phrase in the following sentence mounts higher than the one before, and if heightened further by the power of voice and gesture would sweep the emotion of an audience :

'As good almost kill a man as kill a good book. Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image ; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye'.

The great danger of oratory is lest its emotional possibilities should tempt a speaker to sway audiences for trivial or unworthy ends. There is no such danger in *Areopagitica*, for Milton was moved by sincere conviction and impassioned devotion to an honourable cause."

(2) DR. JOHNSON (*Life of Milton*).

"About the same time Milton published his *Areopagitica*, a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing. The danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science of government, which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. If nothing may be published but what civil authority shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth ; if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement ; if every murmur at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace ; and if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is to punish the authors ; for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions which that society shall think pernicious ;

but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book ; and it seems not more reasonable to leave the right of printing unrestrained, because writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang the thief ”.

[This is a criticism urging a view opposite to that of Milton's. It must be remarked that Johnson wrote this nearly a century, or three quarters of a century after the abolition of the Censorship in England in 1793.]

✓ (3) MACAULAY (*Essay on Milton*).

“ It is to be regretted that the prose writings of Milton should be so little read. As compositions, they deserve the attention of every man who wishes to become acquainted with the full power of the English language. They abound in passages compared with which the finest declamations of Burke sink into insignificance. They are a perfect field of cloth of gold. The style is stiff with gorgeous embroidery. Not even in the earlier books of the *Paradise Lost* has the great poet ever risen higher than in those parts of his controversial works in which his feelings, excited by conflict, find a vent in bursts of devotional and lyric rapture ”.

(4) COMPTON-RICKETT (*A History of English Literature*, p. 179).

✗ What interests us here is the extraordinary display in the pamphlets of Milton of the spirit of independence. He feels far too strongly to write and reason temperately ; fierce and bitter denunciation, tempestuous personalities are hurled against his opponents. That acute sense of the righteously of his own cause, which has always characterised the Puritan, and made of him so merciless an opponent, animates Milton's political writings.

And these tracts are the more remarkable when we consider that came from a quarter where Puritanism, is seldom found. The scholar of the time saturated with academic traditions, sensitive to the romantic appeal of Shakespeare and his school, had more in common with the Cavaliers than with the party of the Roundheads. Yet this admirer of Shakespeare, this writer of masques, this precise scholar, chooses to side with the party which frowned on amusements and despised profane letters. And although the literary student will miss in his prose nearly all those qualities which give desirability and distinction to his poetry, the pamphlets indicate the man even more fully than his epics. One is not accustomed to think of Milton as one thinks of Sir Thomas More and Shelley, and yet there is as much of the Utopian dreamer about him. 'I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs,' he said. And assuredly, it was the aspiration for a cleaner, juster, sweeter world that fed the fire of his passion for liberty. Behind the violent, scurrilous pamphleteer was the idealist. . . . The least ephemeral of his tracts, and the best known, is the *Areopagitica*—a speech for the liberty of unlicenced printing. This was published in 1644, and was cast in the form of a speech addressed to the Parliament. After complimenting them, he declares so highly does he esteem their wisdom that he will pay them the 'supreme compliment' of questioning one of their ordinances. . . .

Books, he says, were things of which a commonwealth ought to take no less vigilant charge than of their living subjects. 'For books do contain a potency of life in them, to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are. . . . A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.

It is quite true that in the theory of toleration advo-

cated by the *Areopagitica*, Milton is not inclined to go so far as some of his contemporaries, but here, as in many other cases, the principle advocated carries its exponent far beyond that of which he wrote in its advocacy.

And nothing could be fuller or more explicit than his demand—'Give me the liberty to know and to argue freely according to my conscience, above all liberties.'"

✓ (5) MR. STOPFORD BROOKE. *continue*

"Milton's Prose Works, as a whole, are not readable. They are controversial; the interest of most of their controversies is past, and they have all the vices of controversy. They descend to brutalities of personal abuse and recrimination; they are full of the miseries of debate.... (We step from passages full of stately thought and splendid diction into passages which we are almost ashamed to read....) But they have another side. They have throughout intellectual force and the ease that comes of it. At times they rise into an eloquence which has nothing like it in English literature for grandeur, music, and splendour."

(16) *Milton as a Patriot and a Lover of Liberty*
(With Extracts illustrating his Concept of Liberty).

A study of Milton's pamphlets will illustrate the fact that the *poet* in Milton is present in Milton the prose writer; the Puritan in Milton is more in evidence in the prose than in *Comus* and the *epic* poems. Milton the republican is likewise clearly visible in most of the tracts; but the most dominant sentiment in Milton is his love of liberty.

In the *Areopagitica*, Milton appears before us as a lover of Truth, Virtue and Liberty. Truth and virtue are the bed-rock on which in Milton's view true liberty is founded. There is no reality in liberty—in his view—which is not

grounded on virtue. Without virtue liberty is licence—"licence they mean when they cry liberty" as he says in his second sonnet. This Liberty in Milton is an aspiration for a new order of things, "an order in which the old injustices and oppressions should cease". Milton expressed more eloquently than any of his great contemporaries this spirit of his age. Milton's liberty is an ardent aspiration after the pure and noble life. This stamps all he wrote, both in prose and verse.

To him the conflict of *Good* and *Evil* is the great fact in the world of mankind. Real freedom for man can emerge only when the Good vanquishes the Evil. Learning is but as a shield to help the good to achieve this victory. It is the soul's panoply—but it is the soul which is to achieve the victory of Good over Evil. The Divine Spirit prefers "the upright heart and pure" before all temples. (*Invocation, Paradise Lost*, Book I).

Life is a combat, but as St. Paul said in his *Epistle to the Ephesians* (VI. 12-18), "we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world". These words express the creed that actuated Milton's fight in his pamphleteering war.

Dr. Hiram Corson writes in his *Introduction to the Prose and Poetical Works of Milton* :—

"The intellectual and spiritual preparation which Milton was making . . . for the production of a great poem, determined his idea of liberty, when bidding farewell, for a time . . . to the loved haunts of the Muses, he engaged as a polemic prose writer, in the struggle for domestic, civil, political and religious liberty. This idea, which may be said to be the informing principle of his prose works, is that *inward liberty is the condition of true outward liberty*. The

latter cannot exist without the former. What is often called liberty is license ; which only leads to a more degraded inward servitude." This is both a Stoical and a Puritan ideal.

We set forth below a few extracts from Milton's Verse and Prose to illustrate this idea.

(17) *Passages in Milton's Works, Illustrating
His Idea of Liberty.*

(1) "Honest liberty is the greatest foe to dishonest license".

—*The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.*

(2) "Men of most renowned virtue have sometimes, by transgressing, most truly kept the law."

—*Tetrachordon.*

(3) "Real and substantial liberty is to be sought from within than from without ; its existence depends not so much on the terror of the sword, as in sobriety of conduct and integrity of life."

—*Second Defence.*

(4) "For, indeed, none can love freedom heartily but good men ; the rest love not freedom but licence, which never hath more scope or more indulgence than under tyrants."

—*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.*

(5) "He who reigns within himself, and rules passions, desires, and fears, is more than a King."

—*The History of Britain, Book III.*

(6) "Liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men ; to bad and dissolute, it becomes a mischief unwieldy in their own hands : neither

is it completely given, but by them who have the happy skill to know what is grievance and unjust to a people, and how to remove it wisely ; what good laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom which they merit, and the bad, the curb which they need ”.

—*The History of Britain*, Book III.

“ But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it.” .

—*The History of Britain*, Book V.

“ It is of no little consequence, by what principles you are governed, either in acquiring liberty, or in retaining it when acquired. And unless that liberty which is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, which alone is the fruit of piety, of justice, of temperance, and unadulterated virtue, shall have taken deep root in your minds and hearts, there will not long be wanting one who will snatch from you by treachery what you have acquired by arms. If after being released from the toils of war, you neglect the arts of peace, if your peace and your liberty be a state of warfare, if war be your only virtue, the summit of your praise, you will believe me, will soon find peace the most adverse to your interests. Your peace will be only a more distressing war ; and that which you imagined liberty will prove the worst of slavery.”

—*Peroration of the Second Defence*.

“ Are they fit to be the legislators of a whole people who themselves know not what law, what reason, what right and wrong, what crooked and straight, what licit and illicit means ? ”

—*Peroration of the Second Defence*.

"Or who would suppose that he should ever be made one ~~hair~~ more free by such a set of public functionaries, (though they might amount to five hundred elected in this manner from the countries and boroughs) when among them who are the very guardians of liberty, and to whose custody it is committed, there must be so many, who know not either how to use or enjoy liberty, who neither understand the principles nor merit the possession?"

—*Peroration of the Second Defence.*

"However much they may brawl about liberty, they are slaves, both at home and abroad, but without perceiving it; and when they do perceive it, like unruly horses that are impatient of the bit, they will endeavour to throw off the yoke, not from the love of genuine liberty, (*which a good man only loves and knows how to obtain,*) but from the impulses of pride and little passions. But though they often attempt it by arms, they will make no advances to the execution; they may change their masters, but will never be able to get rid of their servitude".

—*Peroration of the Second Defence.*

"License they mean when they cry liberty,
For who loves that must first be wise and good".

The Second Sonnet.

"Yet know withal,
Since thy original lapse, true liberty
Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
Twinned, and from her hath no individual being.

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Tyranny must be

Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.
Yet sometimes nations will decline so low
From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,

But justice and some fatal curse annexed,
Deprives them of their outward liberty,
Their inward lost."

Michael's speech in PARADISE LOST, XII. 82-85 & 95-101.

"But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt
And by their vices brought to servitude,
Than to love bondage more than liberty,—
Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty."

Samson's Speech to Chorus in Samson Agonistes, IV. 268-271.

V. The Areopagitica : Its Social and Political Back-ground.

The Life of Milton extends from 1608 to 1674, but during the last fourteen years he lived the life of a recluse, ploughing his own lonely furrow, as a Puritan fallen off from his own world into a world in which he was a stranger. But till the Restoration, Milton's mind had moved with the times and undergone a vast development. The poetry of Milton's early life owes a debt to the life of rural England, his prose to the triumph of Puritanism, and the growth of the democratic spirit both in religion and politics.

The reign of James I and Charles I may be described as the golden age of the English manor-house. The soundest part of the population was to be found in the ranks of the lesser gentry, who lived in pleasant country-seats and had no desire for glitter of the court. They had imbibed at the Universities something of the humanism of the Renaissance, could enjoy some good literature in their own mother tongue, and every Sunday listen in Church to the harmonious prose of the Authorized Version of the Bible. The practice of vocal and instrumental music was wide-spread and the Elizabethan song-books provided an inexhaustible fund for native airs, both gay and grave. A good tradition

of architecture had provided country-side dwellings, both dignified and homely. The Gothic spirit lingered still and furnished a pleasant contrast to the forest of chimneys and gables of the Tudor period. Jacobean furniture reached a high level. The owners of these houses played a determined part in the House of Commons and offered from the first a strong passive resistance to the encroachments of monarchical tyranny. Country sports and dancing were very much in request. Milton's *Comus* furnishes good evidence of all this. This cheerful life is also depicted in Milton's *L'Allegro* and in the lyrics of Robert Herrick. Milton's Horton period illustrates this happy spirit of the English country-side.

But the Puritan controversy arose like a shadow and bade fair to destroy the happy life of the country-side. Men had not learnt the lesson of religious toleration. The High Church with Archbishop Laud at the head tried to suppress the Puritan spirit, the Puritan party, as it grew stronger, tried to suppress the episcopacy and closed the theatres. On the High Church side there arose great religious poets like Donne, Crashaw, Vaughan, Herbert, and Trelhorne. On the Puritan side we have Milton and Andrew Marvell. Milton's anti-episcopalian pamphlets were written from the Puritan point of view. Donne, Herbert and others were loyal to the Anglican Church. On their side too wrote the Cavalier poets like Lovelace and Suckling.

While the great Thirty Years' War was raging on the Continent, England was entering on her own internal struggle. The Peace of Augsbourg and the Treaty of Westphalia established the principle that the citizen of a state must embrace the religion of the state—must observe religious conformity. The early half of the seventeenth century was full of religious wars, in which each party tried to give

practical expression to this theory. Only by the end of the 17th century, they learnt to see the cruelty and the folly of religious persecution. Against this back-ground we can well see the original stand that Milton took in this *Areopagitica* when he advocated full liberty of thought and expression to every one and denounced the lukewarm adherence to conformity, which till 1644 had certainly been the creed, both in religion and politics. There had been Puritans up from time to time who made this claim against the prevailing practice of intolerance and suppression of publication by means of a rigid censorship system. But Milton was the first to raise his trumpet-voice in the cause of unabashed freedom of thought and speech, though even he would grant no liberty to Roman Catholics.

It was natural for the Presbyterians to pursue a policy of suppression of non-Presbyterian thought, against which Milton cries in the *Areopagitica*. To the student of history, the period of Milton's life between his return from Italy and his retirement from public life on the fall of the Commonwealth presents great interest. The English leaders never entirely lost sight of reason and humanity. The struggle for political liberty was inevitably linked up with the struggle for religious freedom from the attempts of Laud and others to establish an artificial conformity of religion in the British isles. The result of this struggle was that the principle of responsible government, by which the head of the State is bound to consult the nation through its representative was clearly vindicated. We begin with the Petition of Rights in 1628, follow up with the Grand Remonstrance in 1641, and end with the deposition and execution of the King in 1649, which brings us to Milton's *Tenure of Magistrates and Kings* and his defences of the English People against Salmasius. Milton was one of England's

earliest democrats. His idea of liberty was not liberty only in public life, but also in the private life of the individual. Hence his treatises on Divorce, which the Presbyterians thought went against the tradition and the spirit of Christianity. This gave the original starting-point for Milton to plan the writing of the *Areopagitica*.

Whether we take the Royalists or the triumphant Puritans, the struggle in both cases was the inveterate conflict between Liberty and Order. Each party in its hour of triumph thought only of Order and denied the claims of Liberty. It was the tragedy of Cromwell's life that he, a lover of liberty, had to unfurl his standard in the end against the Presbyterians and it was the tragedy of Milton's life that he had to defend encroachments upon individual liberty towards the end of the Commonwealth government.

Cromwell saw in the crucial year 1649 that the Presbyterians were on the point of turning Royalists and surrendering to Stuart absolutism. Cromwell forced on the nation the desire to be free before it was quite prepared to be free and in trying to secure freedom, this dictator did nothing else than destroy freedom by force.

Men like Milton were at bottom stern republicans and admirers of the doctrine of individual freedom and individual development. Harrington's *Oceana* was an Utopian republic where individual freedom was to be most respected, when the magistrates were to exercise nothing but powers of execution while the Senate and the people at large would decide what was to be executed by them. But Cromwell had long before determined upon another "execution"—that of the King himself.

The Puritan republican impulse arose with a defiance of the doctrine of Divine Right of Kings. Milton thought it a Divine Right for each man to think, speak and act for

himself. Both the upholders of the Divine Right theory and the Puritans who attacked them founded their creed on the Christian Scriptures. The one party maintained that the Christian Scriptures have given the King his Divine Right and he is not responsible to his people but only to God. Sir Robert Filmer had taken up this position in his *Patriarcha*, though the book itself was published only about 1680. The Puritans took their stand against this freak of Stuart absolutism mainly on Scriptural grounds. Kings Saul and David and the Prophet Samuel supplied the leading illustration from Hebrew history to both parties. One of the excesses of Protestantism was this extreme deference to Hebrew history and precedents as enshrined in the Scriptures, and one of the stumbling blocks in the way of rationalism in the religious thought of the seventeenth century is just this deference. This dogmatic attitude went a long way to neutralise the scientific attitude in the consideration of both social and scientific phenomena advocated by Bacon.

The Puritan party made much of the beauty of holiness and talked of each other as saints. Their attitude towards all questions about women was one that squared with the Scriptures. The woman must obey her husband, her lord and master, as we see from *Paradise Lost*, Book IV. This Shemitic doctrine *minus* polygamy coloured the Puritan view-point towards women, though Milton himself in his Divorce treatises took his stand rather on the theory of the Roman Law about the continuance of *consensus* between the marrying parties. If marriage is based on consent, the Civil Law must provide a remedy to divorce it when this consent came to an end.

Contrary to the opinion of the Presbyterians, but more in accord with the views of the Independents, Milton is

~~almost~~ the first outspoken English writer to base the sanction of marriage, not on the sacramental theory of the Christian church, but on the sanction of the Civil Law, which in Europe came into effective practice only in the reign of Joseph II, the son of Maria Theresa, of the Hapsburg dynasty.

But a republican spirit had grown with the very growth of Presbyterianism. From the cry "No bishops!", it was an easy transition to exclaim "No King."—*No Bishop, no King* became the general cry. But Milton found that, that the Presbyterians themselves were becoming too conservative and eager to destroy the freedom of others. Hence he cried "New *Presbyter* is but old *priest* writ large". Hence the Parliament's edict of June 14, 1643 re-imposing the old licensive system; hence Milton's *Areopagitica*, hence Milton's going over from the Presbyterians to the ranks of the Independents and hence his obedience to the first and almost the last of English Dictators—Oliver Cromwell.

VI. Milton Chronology.

(A) *Personal Events* :—

1608. Milton born in London, December 9th.

1620 At St. Paul's School—friendship with Diodati.

1625 At Cambridge—Christ's College.

1626 Quarrel with College tutor and probable rustication for some time.

1632 M. A. at Cambridge.

„ Retires to Horton in Buckinghamshire.

1638 Milton's mother dies.

1638-1639 Continental travels. Meets Grotius at Paris and Galileo at Florence.

1639 Returns from travel and takes up residence

- near St. Bride's Churchyard. Receives his two nephews as pupils. Removes to Aldergate Street.
- 1641 Begins his pamphleteering career in the Presbyterian interest.
- 1643 Marries Mary Powell. She returns to her parents and refuses to return. Writes first tract on Divorce.
- 1645 Mary Powell returns. Shifts from Aldergate to Barbican.
- 1646 Breaks with the Presbyterians.
- 1646 Milton's father dies.
- 1647 Gives up pupils and changes to a house near Lincoln's Inn Fields.
- 1649 Milton as Secretary for "foreign tongues" to the Council of State. Moves to Whitehall. Eye-sight begins to fail.
- 1651 Changes residence to a "garden-house" in Petty France, Westminster, overlooking St. James's Park. Here he lives down to the Restoration.
- 1652 Total eclipse of eye-sight.
- 1653 Death of Mary Powell, leaving three daughters behind.
- 1656 Milton's second marriage with Catherine Woodcock.
- 1658 Death of Milton's second wife. *Paradise Lost* begun.
- 1660 Last political pamphlet—*Ready and Easy Way to establish a Commonwealth*.
The Restoration.
- " Milton in hiding and then in custody. Escapes with a fine, two of his Tracts being burnt by the common hangman. Loss of property.

- Lodges in Holborn and thence in Jewin Street.
- 1664 Marries Elizabeth Munshill. Changes to a house opposite Artillery Ground Bunhill Row. Here he resides till death.
- 1665 The Plague Year. Milton at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, hired for him by Ellwood. The *MS.* of *Paradise Lost* seen by Ellwood. *Paradise Regained* begun.
- 1666 Milton's house in Breadstreet (where he was born) burnt down in the Great Fire of London.
- 1667 Publication of *Paradise Lost*.
- 1671 *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*.
- 1674 Dies, November 8th.

(B) *Publications etc.* :—

- 1626 *Latin Elegies*, at Cambridge.
- " *On the Death of a Fair Infant*.
- 1629 *Ode on the Nativity of Christ*.
- 1630 *Lines on Shakespeare. A Solemn Music*.
- 1633 *Arcades. L'allegro and Il Penseroso*.
- 1634 *Comus*.
- 1637 *Lycidas*.
- 1638-39 Italian Sonnets. Epitaphium Damonis.
- 1641 "The Pamphlet Year"—Presbyterian pamphlets. (1) *Of Reformation in England*. (2) *Prelatical Episcopacy*. (3) *Reason of Church Government*. (4) *Animadversions*.
- 1642 Apology for Smectymnuus. (This was the last of the five Presbyterian or Anti-Episcopalian tracts.) The Sonnet : "*When an assault was intended to the city*."

- 1643 *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. (First Divorce Tract), a few months after his marriage.
- 1644 (This is another eventful year in Milton's pamphleteering career.)
 February : Second Edition of the *First Divorce Tract*.
 June : *Tractate on Education*.
 July : *The Second Divorce Act*.
 November : *The Areopagitica*.
- 1645 Two more Divorce Tracts, viz *Tetrachordon*, and *Colasterion*. Two sonnets against "de-tractors".
- 1646 First collected edition of Milton's early poems. The *Sonnet* on "Forcers of Conscience" (against the Presbyterians).
- 1649 *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, Eikonoklastes*.
- 1651 *First Defence of the English People*—In Latin.
- 1654 *Second Defence of the English People*—Latin.
- 1655 Sonnet : On the Late Massacre in Piedmont.
- 1658 Sonnet in honour of his second wife after her death : "Methought I saw etc."
- 1658 *Paradise Lost* begun.
- 1659 *Way to remove Hirelings*.
- 1660 *Ready and Easy Way to establish a Commonwealth*. Two of his tracts burnt by the common hangman, viz. *Eikonoklastes* and *The First Defence*.
- 1665 *Paradise Lost* completed. *Paradise Regained* begun.
- 1667 *Paradise Lost* published.
- 1669 *History of England*.

- 1671 *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* published together.
- 1673 *On True Religion, Heresy, and Schism*. New edition of Milton's *Early Poems*, *Christian Doctrine* (Latin) left in an incomplete copy at his death.
- 1674 Second Edition of *Paradise Lost* dividing the Epic into *twelve* books from the original *ten*.
- (C) *Public Events* :
 - 1613 The Princess Elizabeth married to the Elector of the Palatinate, which leads England for a time, but a few years later, into *The Thirty Years' War*.
 - 1616 Death of Shakespeare, also of Beaumont.
 - 1618 Execution of Raleigh. *Thirty Years' War* begun.
 - 1620 Bacon's *Novum Organon*.
 - 1621 Fall of Bacon.
 - 1625 Death of King James I and Accession of Charles I.
 - 1626 Death of Bacon.
 - 1628 Petition of Right.
 - 1629 Quarrel between King and Parliament. Parliament dissolved till 1640. The King rules without Parliament.
 - 1633 Strafford becomes chief minister to the King and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.
 - 1634 First Levy of Ship-money Tax.
 - 1637 Hampden refuses to pay Ship-money tax. Revolt in Scotland on account of Laud's Church Policy.

- 1640 The *Short Parliament* called and *Dissolved*.
1640 The Long Parliament meets, November 3, 1640.
1641 Execution of Strafford by Parliament.
„ King Charles marches upon Scotland.
„ The Grand Remonstrance.
„ Parliament impeaches twelve Bishops including
Archbishop Laud.
1642 Civil War started.
„ Battle of Edgehill.
1643 Solemn League and Covenant formed by the
Presbyterians to continue the Civil War.
1644 Battle of Marston Moor.
1645 The 'New Model' Army of Parliament formed
—Rise of Cromwell.
1645 Battle of Naseby ending in the King's complete
defeat. Execution of Laud.
1646. King Charles surrenders to the Scots.
1647 The Scots surrender the King to the English
Parliament. Flight of Charles to the Isle of
Wight.
1648 "Pride's Purge"—Presbyterian members of
Parliament against the King's execution ex-
pelled by Cromwell. Treaty of Westphalia
puts an end to the *Thirty Years' War* on the
continent.
1649 Execution of King Charles I in front of White-
hall Palace.
1650 Cromwell marches upon Scotland against the
Scottish Presbyterians and defeats them in
the battle of Dunbar.
1651 Scottish and Irish Rebellion put down. Battle
of Worcester. Hobbes' *Leviathan* published.

- 1653 Blake's naval victory.
- „ The Long Parliament dissolved by Cromwell.
„ “Barebone's Parliament” votes Cromwell to
be Lord Protector of England.
- 1654 Cromwell's first Parliament.
- 1655 Parliament dissolves Cromwell embarks on a
bold foreign policy. Alliance with France.
Blake's victories in the Mediterranean. Bri-
tish conquest of Jamaica.
- 1656 Cromwell's second Parliament.
- 1657 Cromwell refuses Kingship and is re-appointed
Lord Protector of England.
- 1658 Cromwell's second Parliament dissolved. Crom-
well dies, Sept. 3. His son Richard elected
Lord Protector.
- 1659 The Long Parliament recalled and expelled.
- 1660 General Monk enters London. The “Rump”
of the Long Parliament dissolves itself.
Charles II's Declaration of Breda, promising
amnesty to the rebels. Charles lands in Eng-
land as King in May, 1660.
- 1662 The King marries Catherine of Braganza, who
brings to England Tangier and the Island of
Bombay as her dowry.
- „ Dunkirk sold to Louis XIV of France.
- 1662-1665 Legislation against the Dissenters.
- 1664 War with Holland.
- 1665 Plague in London.
- 1666 Fire of London.
- 1667 The Dutch march up the Medway and threaten
London. They are defeated by James, Duke
of York, the King's brother.

- 1668 England in Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden against France.
- 1670 Secret Treaty of Dover. The King in alliance with Louis XIV.
- 1672 War recommenced against Holland. Charles issues Declaration of Indulgence to Catholics in England.
- 1673 Charles withdraws Declaration.
- 1674 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. End of the War with Holland. The Test Act.

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AREOPAGITICA.

FOR THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING

[Authors are influenced by various hopes and fears and they write under a sense of responsibility. I am no exception to it, when I am addressing the British Parliament.]

THEY who to states and governors of the Commonwealth direct their speech, High Court of Parliament, or, wanting such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the public good, I suppose them, as at the beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little altered 5 and moved inwardly in their minds : some with doubt of what will be the success, others with fear of what will be the censure ; some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speak. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I entered, may 10 have at other times variously affected ; and likely might in these foremost expressions now also disclose which of them swayed most, but that the very attempt of this address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion far 15 more welcome than incidental to a preface.

[I write in defence of civil liberty, which the heroic leaders of Parliament have preserved for England from the threat of tyranny and superstition. This has been due to the guidance and wisdom of the Lords and Commons of England.]

2. Which though I stay not to confess ere any ask, I shall be blameless, if it be no other than the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their country's liberty ; whereof this whole discourse proposed will
 5 be a certain testimony, if not a trophy. For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth ; that let no man in this world expect : but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty
 10 attained that wise men look for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter that we are already in good part arrived, and yet from such a steep disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery,
 15 it will be attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God our deliverer, next to your faithful guidance and undaunted wisdom, Lords and Commons of England. Neither is it in God's esteem the diminution of His glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men and worthy
 20 magistrates ; which if I now first should begin to do, after so fair a progress of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligation upon the whole realm to your indefatigable virtues, I might be justly reckoned among the tardiest and the unwillingest of them that praise ye.

[There is a difference between praise and flattery. We praise what is solidly worth praising. The man we praise possesses praise-worthy qualities, and the man who praises but does not flatter, does not shrink to criticise. I have in the past praised Parliament

for being above flattery and for governing the country more justly than the king's cabinet and bishops ever did before. You can brook criticism.]

3. Nevertheless there being three principal things without which all praising is but courtship and flattery, First, when that only is praised which is solidly worth praise : next, when greatest likelihoods are brought that such things are truly and really in those persons to whom they are ascribed : the 5 other, when he who praises, by showing that such his actual persuasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not ; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavoured, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits with a trivial 10 and malignant encomium ; the latter, as belonging chiefly to mine own acquittal, that whom I so extolled I did not flatter, hath been reserved opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, 15 gives ye the best covenant of his fidelity, and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kind of praising ; for though I should affirm and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with 20 learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your published Orders, which I should name, were called in, yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your mild and equal government, whenas private persons are hereby animated to think ye better pleased with 25 public advice, than other statists have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial Parliament, and that jealous haughtiness of prelates and Cabin Counsellors that usurped of late, when as they 30

shall observe ye in the midst of your victories and successes more gently brooking written exceptions against a voted Order than other Courts, which had produced nothing worth memory but the weak ostentation of wealth, would have
 5 endured the least signified dislike at any sudden Proclamation.

[I can safely criticise Parliament's recent order against the liberty of printing, because the British Parliament imitates the spirit of the democracy of Athens, where the great orators were listened to with respect. I am not equal to those great orators, but I am not so far inferior, as the British Parliament are far superior to that of Athens. The British Parliament will always listen to reason.]

4. If I should thus far presume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatness, Lords and Commons, as what your published Order hath directly said,
 10 that to gainsay, I might defend myself with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old
 15 and elegant humanity of Greece than the barbaric pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian stateliness. And out of those
 20 ages to whose polite wisdom and letters we owe that we are not yet Goths and Jutlanders I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parliament of Athens, that persuades them to change the form of democracy which was then established. Such honour was done
 in those days to men who professed the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own country, but in other lands, that cities and signiories heard them gladly and with great respect, if they had aught in public to admonish the state. Thus did Dion Pruseus, a stranger and a private
 25 orator, counsel the Rhodians against a former edict : and

I abound with other like examples, which to set here would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those natural endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated as to count me not equal to any of those who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior as yourselves are superior to the most of them who received their counsel : and how far you excel them, be assured, Lords and Commons, there can no greater testimony appear, than when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reason from what quarter soever it be heard speaking ; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth as any set forth by your predecessors.

[Knowing your love of truth and uprightness of judgment, I would now request you to revise again your orders for the regulation of Printing. This Order is of no use to suppress the printing of scandalous books. It only discourages learning and prohibits the expression of truth.]

5. If ye be thus resolved, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to show both that love of truth which ye eminently profess, and that uprightness of your judgment which is not wont to be partial to yourselves, by judging over again that Order which ye have ordained to regulate Printing : That no book, pamphlet, or paper shall be henceforth printed, unless the same be first approved and licensed by such, or at least one of such, as shall be thereto appointed. For that part which preserves justly every man's copy to himself, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretences to abuse and persecute honest and painful men who offend not in

either of these particulars. But that other clause of Licensing Books, which we thought had died with his brother quadragesimal and matrimonial when the prelates expired, I shall now attend with such a homily ^{sermon} as shall lay before 5 ye, first, the inventors of it to be those whom ye will be loth to own; next, what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever sort the books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous books, which were mainly intended to be 10 suppressed; last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of Truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made both in religious and civil 15 Wisdom.

[It is very important in a state to keep a vigilant eye on bad publications and to punish the publishers of bad books. But unless you are cautious there is a risk that you will hinder the publication of good books. It is as good almost to kill a man as to kill a good book. But I don't claim any license, while opposing licensing. I would review the history of the licensing system.]

6. I deny not but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as 20 malefactors: for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living 24 intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth; and,

being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom, and, if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself; slays an immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemned of introducing licence, while I oppose licensing, I refuse not the pains to be so much historical as will serve to show what hath been done by ancient and famous commonwealths against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licensing crept out of the Inquisition, was caught up by our prelates, and hath caught some of our presbyters.

[At Athens only two sorts of books were suppressed. These were (1) blasphemous or atheistical or (2) libellous. The books of Protagoras were burnt by order of the Areopagus. The license of personal attack in the Ancient Comedy was suppressed. But the writings of Epicurus or of the Cynics or Cyrenaics were

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not interfered with. Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes.]

7. In Athens, where books and wits were ever busier than in any other part of Greece, I find but only two sorts of writings which the magistrate cared to take notice of : those either blasphemous and atheistical, or libellous. Thus 5 the books of Protagoras were by the judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt, and himself banished the territory, for a discourse begun with his confessing not to know *whether there were gods, or whether not.* And against defaming, it was decreed that none should be traduced by 10 name, as was the manner of Vetus ^{Reason Comedy} Comœdia, whereby we may guess how they censured libelling. And this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event showed. Of other sects and opinions, 15 though tending to voluptuousness and the denying of Divine Providence, they took no heed. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynic impudence uttered, was ever questioned by the laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those 20 old comedians were suppressed, though the acting of them were forbid ; and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of them all, to his royal scholar Dionysius, is commonly known, and may be excused, if holy Chrysostom, as is reported, nightly studied so much the 25 same author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the style of a rousing sermon.

[As for Lacedaemon, though Lycurgus was the first to bring together the scattered works of Homer, on the whole the people there attended more to war than to books : thus there was no licensing of books among them, though they drove out Archi-

lochus for the freedom of his satires and invectives--not so much on the ground of morality, as Euripides describes the Spartan women as unchaste.]

8. That other leading city of Greece, Lacedæmon, considering that Lycurgus their lawgiver was so addicted to elegant learning as to have been the first that brought out of Ionia the scattered works of Homer, and sent the poet Thales from Crete to prepare and mollify the Spartan surliness with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility, it is to be wondered how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of war. There needed no licensing of books among them, for they disliked all but their own laconic apothegms, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilochus out of their city, perhaps for composing in a higher strain than their own soldierly ballads and roundels could reach to ; Or if it were for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing ; whence Euripides affirms in *Andromache* that their women were all unchaste.

Spartans.

[The Romans resembled the Lacedaemonians in the roughness of their military training and had little regard for learning, and so Cato the Censor advised the expulsion of the philosophers, Carneades and Critolaus. Scipio defended them and Cato himself in old age took to Greek learning. Rome also had to take measures against libellous books and put Naevius into prison. Augustus punished libellors.]

9. Thus much may give us light after what sort books were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also, for many ages trained up only to a military roughness, resembling most of the Lacedæmonian guise, knew of learning little but what their twelve Tables and the Pontific

College with their augurs and flamens taught them in religion and law, so unacquainted with other learning that when Carneades and Critolaus with the Stoic Diogenes, coming ambassadors to Rome, took thereby occasion to give the city a taste of their philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no less a man than Cato the Censor, who moved it in the Senate to dismiss them speedily, and to banish all such Attic babblers out of Italy. But Scipio and others of the noblest senators withstood him and his old Sabine austerity ; honoured and admired the men ; and the censor himself at last in his old age fell to the study of that whereof before he was so scrupulous. And yet at the same time Nævius and Plautus the first Latin comedians had filled the city with all the borrowed scenes of Menander and Philemon. Then began to be considered there also what was to be done to libellous books and authors ; for Nævius was quickly cast into prison for his unbridled pen, and released by the tribunes upon his recantation ; we read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punished by Augustus.

Rome [The same severity was used in the case of impious writings against their gods. But Lucretius could versify the teachings of Epicurus with impunity, and Livy could extol Pompey. Yet Ovid was exiled on account of his licentious poems.]

20 ~ 10. The like severity no doubt was used if aught were impiously written against their esteemed gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in books, the magistrate kept no reckoning. And therefore Lucretius without impeachment versifies his Epicurism to Memmius, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by Cicero, so great a father of the commonwealth ; although himself disputes against that opinion in his own writings.

Nor was the satirical sharpness, or naked plainness of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus, by any order prohibited. And for matters of state, the story of Titus Livius, though it extolled that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppressed by Octavius Cæsar of the other faction. But 5 that Naso was by him banished in his old age for the wanton poems of his youth, was but a mere covert of state over some secret cause; and besides, the books were neither banished nor called in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman empire, that we may 10 not marvel if not so often bad as good books were silenced. I shall therefore deem to have been large enough in producing what among the ancients was punishable to write, save only which all other arguments were free to treat on.

[When the Roman emperors became Christians, there was no great severity. But the books of heretics were examined in the great Councils and burnt. Till 400 A.D. pagan authors could publish their books. But after 800 A.D. the Pope at Rome began to prohibit and suppress books and persecuted the Lollards and Hussites.]

11. By this time the emperors were become Christians, 15 whose discipline in this point I do not find to have been more severe than ~~that~~ was formerly in practice. The books of those whom they took to be grand heretics were examined, refuted, and condemned in the general Councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by authority 20 of the emperor. As for the writings of ~~heathen~~ ^{pagan} authors, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400 in a Carthaginian Council, wherein bishops themselves were 25 forbid to read the books of Gentiles, but heresies they

might read : while others long before them on the contrary, scrupled more the books of heretics than of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councils and Bishops were wont only to declare what books were not commendable, passing no 5 further, but leaving it to each one's conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, ^{A.D.} is observed already by Padre Paolo the great unmasker of the Trentine Council. After 10 which time the Popes of Rome, engrossing what they pleased of political rule into their own hands, extended their dominion over men's eyes, as they had before over 15 their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancied not ; yet sparing in their censures, and the books not many which they so dealt with ; till Martin the V. by his bull not only prohibited, but was the first that 20 excommunicated the reading of heretical books ; for about that time ^{Wickliffe & Huss} Wickliffe and Huss growing terrible were they who first drove the Papal Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which course Leo the XIII and his successors followed, until the Council of Trent and the Spanish 25 Inquisition engendering together brought forth or perfected those Catalogues and expurging indexes that rake through the entrails of many an old good author with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb.

[They did not stop with heretical books ; but any book they disliked was put in the Index of Prohibited Books or in the Index of Books to be Expurgated. The book passed through the hands of many censors, without whose "Imprimatur", a book could not be published.]

12. Nor did they stay in matters heretical, but any 25 subject that was not to their palate they either condemned in a Prohibition, or had it straight into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their

last invention was to ordain that no book, pamphlet, or paper should be printed (as if St. Peter had bequeathed them the keys of the press also out of Paradise) unless it were approved and licensed under the hands of two or three glutton friars. For example :

Let the Chancellor Cini be pleased to see if in this present work be contained aught that may withstand the printing,

Vincent Rabatta, Vicar of Florence.

I have seen this present work, and find nothing athwart the Catholic faith and good manners ; in witness whereof I have given, &c.

Nicolò Cini, Chancellor of Florence.

Attending the precedent relation, it is allowed that this present work of Davanzati may be printed,

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be printed, July 15.

Friar Simon Mompei d'Amelia Chancellor of the holy office in Florence.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomless pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple exorcism would bar him down. I fear their next design will be to get into their custody the licensing of that which they say Claudius intended, but went not through with. Vouchsafe to see another of their forms the Roman stamp :

Imprimatur, If it seem good to the reverend master of the holy Palace, Belcastro, Viceregent.

Imprimatur, Friar Nicolò Rodolphi, Master of the holy Palace.

[Sometimes five imprimaturs would be seen on the title-page. Our Anglican Bishops liked this sort of things, as they

aped the Romish Church and hugged the Latin word "Imprimatur", as if they could not write it in English. Perhaps the English language, the language of a liberty-loving people, would not lend itself to such a servile purpose.]

13. Sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the piazza of one title-page, complementing and ducking each to other with their shaven reverences, whether the author who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the sponge. These are the pretty responsories, these are the dear antiphonies that so bewitched of late our Prelates and their chaplains with the goodly echo they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly Imprimatur, one from Lambeth House, another from the west end of Paul's; so apishly Romanising that the word of command still was set down in Latin; as if the learned grammatical pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without Latin; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to express the pure conceit of an Imprimatur; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enough to spell such a dictatory presumption English.

[Thus we have seen the history of the censorship of books—a thing that does not belong to any ancient state or religion, but only to the most anti-Christian Council and the most tyrannous Inquisition of the Catholic Church. This was taken up by the Anglican Clergy. I am sure (says Milton) Parliament had no such sinister intention in issuing their licensing order.]

14. And thus ye have the inventors and the original of book-licensing ripped up, and drawn as lineally as any

pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or polity, or church, nor by any statute left us by our ancestors, elder or later; nor from the modern custom of any reformed city, or church abroad; but from the most anti-christian council, and the most tyrannous inquisition that ever inquired. Till then books were ever as freely admitted into the world as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb; no envious Juno ^{compared to Inquisition} sat cross-legged over the nativity of any man's intellectual offspring; but if it proved a monster, who denies but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the sea. But that a book, in worse condition than a peccant soul, should be to stand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in darkness the judgment of Radamanth and his colleagues, ere it can pass the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new limbos and new hells wherein they might include our books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsel so officiously snatched up, and so ill-favouredly imitated by our inquisiturient bishops, and the attendant minorites, their chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain authors of this licensing order, and that all sinister intention was far distant from your thoughts when ye were imported the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear ye readily.

rhetorical sentence, concludes the point of the argument.

[It may be said that the inventors of censorship (viz.: the Roman Catholic Church) might be bad, but their invention might be good. But it will be difficult to extract any good out of this censorship idea. The tree is known by its fruit and vice versa. If the inventors were bad, the invention cannot be

good. Milton proceeds to discuss whether more good or ~~harm~~ results from books.]

15. But some will say, What though the inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may be so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easy for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest
 5 commonwealths through all ages and occasions have forborne to use it, and falsest seducers and oppressors of men were the first who took it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation, I am of those who believe it will be a harder alchymy than
 10 Lullius ever knew, to sublimate any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, until I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have
 15 first to finish as was propounded: what is to be thought in general of reading books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit or the harm that thence proceeds.

[Moses, Daniel and Paul draw on the heathen writers, the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Greeks. St. Paul quotes even a Greek tragedian. Julian forbade to Christians the study of the classical writings, so that the Christians were driven to discover all learning in their scriptures. This shows the value of books in the minds of religious men.]

20 16. Not to insist upon the examples of Moses, Daniel and Paul, who were skilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their books of all sorts, in Paul especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into Holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek poets, and one of them a tragedian, the question was notwithstanding sometimes

controverted among the primitive doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirmed it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceived, when Julian the Apostate and subtlest enemy to our faith made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning; for, 5 said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts by this crafty means and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Apollinarii? were fain as a man may say to 10 coin all the seven liberal sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of orations, poems, dialogues, even to the calculating of a new Christian grammar.

[*But Providence freed us from the risk of the loss of Greek studies with the death of Julian. St. Jerome and other fathers of the Church testify to the value of Cicero and other classical writers. Jerome tells us that in a dream the devil whipped him for reading Cicero.*]

It is not the philosopher

17. But saith the historian Socrates: The providence of God provided better than the industry of Apollinarius and 15 his son by taking away that illiterate law with the life of him who devised it. So great an injury they then held it to be deprived of Hellenic learning; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church than the open cruelty of Decius or Diocletian. And perhaps it 20 was the same politic drift that the devil whipped St. Jerome in a Lenten dream, for reading Cicero; or else it was a phantasm bred by the fever which had then seized him. For had an angel been his discipliner, unless it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianisms, and had chastised 25 the reading, not the vanity, it had been plainly partial, first, to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for scurril Plautus

whom he confesses to have been reading not long before, next, to correct him only, and let so many more ancient fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a tutoring apparition ; insomuch that Basil teaches how some good use may be made of Margites a sportful poem, not now extant, writ by Homer ; and why not then of Morgante, an Italian romance much to the same purpose ?

[*St. Eusebius had a dream in which he heard God's voice bidding him read all books, even those of the heretics.*]

18. But if it be agreed we shall be tried by visions, there is a vision recorded by Eusebius far ancients than this tale of Jerome to the nun Eustochium, and besides has nothing of a fever in it. Dionysius Alexandrinus was about the year 250 a person of great name in the Church for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himself much against heretics by being conversant in their books ; until a certain presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loth to give offence fell into a new debate with himself what was to be thought ; when suddenly a vision sent from God (it is his own epistle that so avers it) confirmed him in these words : Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright and to examine each matter. To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the Apostle to the Thessalonians : Prove all things, hold fast that which is good. St Paul.

[*St. Paul has said : "To the pure, all things are pure." Books are like meat : some good, some evil. Wholesome meat to a*

vitiated stomach is as bad as unwholesome. Though bad meat can have no healthy effect on a good stomach, to a discreet reader bad books can teach much and enable him to face bad arguments. Selden has shown that even errors and wrong opinions can be of service to the cause of truth.]

19. And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same author : To the pure all things are pure ; not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge whether of good or evil ; the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled. For books are as meats and viands are ; some of good, some of evil substance ; and yet God in that unapocryphal vision said without exception, Rise Peter, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each man's discretion. Wholesome meats to a vitiating stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome ; and best books to a naughty mind are not unapplicable to occasions of evil. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction ; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Whereof what better witness can ye expect I should produce than one of your own now sitting in Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this land, Mr. Selden, whose volume of natural and national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea, errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest.

God left us free in the dieting of our bodies : He has left us free in the dieting of our minds. Temperance is a great vir-

tue, but the exercise of this virtue is left to ourselves. This also applies to reading. Our reason must help us to choose our books. Solomon said that much reading is a weariness to the flesh; But he has not arbitrarily fixed what reading is unlawful.]

20. I conceive, therefore, that when God did enlarge the universal diet of man's body, saving ever the rules of temperance, He then also, as before, left arbitrary the dieting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature
 5 man might have to exercise his own leading capacity. How great a virtue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! Yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And
 10 therefore when He Himself tabled the Jews from heaven, that omer which was every man's daily portion of manna is computed to have been more than might have well sufficed the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions, which enter into a man rather than issue out of him and
 15 therefore defile not, God uses not to captivate under a perpetual childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which heretofore were governed
 20 only by exhortation. Solomon informs us that much reading is a weariness to the flesh; but neither he nor other inspired author tells us that such or such reading is unlawful: yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was
 25 unlawful than what was wearisome.

Amx [The burning of the books of the Ephesians by St. Paul's followers was a private and voluntary act; and besides those were books of magic. This passage in the Scripture does not

justify any magistrate in destroying books. Others might have read those books with some profit. In this world, good and evil grow up mixed together. The knowledge of good is involved in that of evil. It has been so since the days of Adam.

21. As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St. Paul's converts, 'tis replied the books were magic; the Syriac so renders them. It was a private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation; the men in remorse burnt those books which were their own; the magistrate by this example is not appointed; these men practised the books; another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds, which were imposed on Psyche as an incessant labour to cull out and sort asunder, were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted that the knowledge of good and evil as two twins cleaving together leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say of knowing good by evil. *The only or happy guilt.*

We cannot pursue wisdom or virtue without the knowledge of evil. He is the true warring Christian who can know vice and yet abstain. I cannot praise a "cloistered virtue". Man is not born pure; but trial makes him pure. That virtue which requires to be guarded is not real virtue. Our Spenser is a better teacher than Duns Scotus or Aquinas. The knowledge of vice is necessary to the practising of virtue.

22. As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without

the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot
 5 praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world; we bring impurity much
 10 rather: that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank
 15 virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer
 20 through the cave of Mammon and the Bower of Earthly Bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely and with less danger scout into the regions of
 25 sin and falsity than by reading all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read.

[Three kinds of harm are alleged to arise from promiscuous reading—the first is this that books spread infection of evil. If this is granted, all learning and controversy must be expelled from the world—including the Bible, which sometimes uses Ebi-

ouran arguments against Providence. The writings of the Fathers of the Church must be also expelled.]

23. But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckoned : First, is feared the infection that may spread ; but then all human learning and controversy in religious points must remove out of the world, yea, the Bible itself ; for that oftentimes relates blasphemy not nicely, 5 it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of Epicurus : in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader : and ask a Talmudist what ails the 10 modesty of his marginal Keri, that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textual Chetiv. For these causes we all know the Bible itself put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest fathers must be next removed, as Clement 15 of Alexandria, and that Eusebian book of Evangelic Preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the Gospel. Who finds not that Irenæus, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others discover more heresies than they well confute, and that oft for heresy 20 which is the truer opinion ?

[The fact that the heathen writers wrote in an unknown tongue is no argument in their defence, since any one who studies those languages can instil the poison of their obscenities into the courts of princes, as Petronius did in the case of Nero and Aretino at the court of the Medicis. The evil of these foreign books travels fast, while the licensing system gags the English press.]

24. Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with

whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able and most diligent to instil the poison they
 5 suck, first into the courts of princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that Petronius whom Nero called his Arbiter, the master of his revels; and that notorious ribald of Arezzo, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian courtiers. I name not him, for
 10 posterity's sake, whom Henry the VIII. named in merriment his Vicar of hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign books can infuse will find a passage to the people far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed either by the north of Cataio.
 15 eastward or of Canada westward, while our Spanish licensing gags the English press never so severely.

{The infection from controversial books is of a doubtful quality and their danger is only to the learned. These should be untouched by the licenser. No ignorant man is seduced by them; unless they are expounded by some of the clergy. Many of our priests have been corrupted by the writings of the Jesuits and they manage to corrupt the people.}

25. But on the other side, that infection which is from books of controversy in religion is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned than to the ignorant; and yet those
 20 books must be permitted untouched by the licenser. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath been ever seduced by papistical book in English, unless it were commended and expounded to him by some of that clergy; and indeed all such tractates whether false or true are as the
 25 prophecy of Isaiah was to the eunuch, not to be understood without a guide. But of our priests and doctors how many

have been corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot since the acute and distinct Arminius was perverted merely by the perusing of a nameless discourse written at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute. 5

Evil is learnt even in the
 [Those books which are most likely to corrupt the reader cannot be suppressed, without the diminution of learning and argumentative power. The evil in these books is conveyed from the learned to the common people. Evil manners are easily learnt without books in a thousand ways which cannot be stopped and evil doctrine can be propagated even without books. Thus this attempt to license books is a fatuous enterprise.]

26. Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning 10 and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people whatever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be conveyed, and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways 15 which cannot be stopped, and evil doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also do without writing and so beyond prohibiting, I am not unable to unfold how this cautelous enterprise of licensing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible 20 attempts. And he who were pleasantly disposed could not well avoid to liken it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate,

Of [If learned men are the first to catch and spread vice and heresy, how can we trust the licensers themselves? Can they

assume the mantle of infallibility and incorruptibility? It is true that a wise man will gather gold from the drossiest book and the fool will be a fool with the best book. But why deprive the wise man of the chance to improve his wisdom, while trying in vain to restrain the fool's folly? If we really mean to keep off from the fool what may harm him, and are really consistent in this, we shall have to suppress many good books.]

27. Besides another inconvenience : if learned men be the first receivers out of books and dispreaders both of vice and error, how shall the licensers themselves be confided in, unless we can confer upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the land, the grace of infallibility and uncorruptedness? And again if it be true, that a wise man like a good refiner can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea, or without book, there is no reason that we should
 10 deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool that which being restrained will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactness always used to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should, in the judgment of
 15 Aristotle not only but of Solomon and of our Saviour, not vouchsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good books, as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred Scripture.

محرر [We are told to keep off from temptation and vanity. But books are not temptations or vanities! They are like medicinal drugs. Those who cannot use these drugs may forbear, but no licensing in the world can hinder them. The licensing system cannot thus serve the purpose for which it is intended.]

28. 'Tis next alleged we must not expose ourselves to

temptations without necessity, and next to that, not employ our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations, nor vanities ; but useful drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong medicines, which man's life cannot want. The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualify and prepare these working minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hindered forcibly they cannot be by all the licensing that Sainted Inquisition could ever yet contrive ; which is what I promised to deliver next : That this order of licensing conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed ; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath been explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens herself faster than the pace of method and discourse can overtake her.

No ancient Nation used Plato's

[I have shown no ancient nation resorted to licensing of books—not because they never thought of it, but because they did not approve of it. Plato in his 'Republic' (a book of little value compared with his other works) would not tolerate any kind of learning in his ideal State, and he said that poets should not be read unless the magistrates approved. But Plato's Commonwealth was to be a peculiar Commonwealth altogether. He was himself the transgressor of his own laws, both by writing his Dialogues and in recommending the gross comedies of Aristophanes. No wonder no existing state has ever cared to follow Plato's maxims.]

29. It was the task which I began with, to show that no nation, or well instituted state, if they valued books at all, did ever use this way of licensing ; and it might be so answered, that this is a piece of prudence lately discovered ;

to which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had been difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long since who suggested such a course ; which they not following leave us a pattern of their judgment, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. Plato, a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the book of his Laws, which no city ever yet received, fed his fancy with making many edicts to his airy burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him wish had been rather buried and excused in the genial cups of an Academic night-sitting. By which laws he seems to tolerate no kind of learning but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practical traditions, to the attainment whereof a library of smaller bulk than his own dialogues would be abundant ; and there also enacts that no poet should so much as read to any private man what he had written, until the judges and law-keepers had seen it and allowed it. But that Plato meant this law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagined, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a lawgiver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expelled by his own magistrates, both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of Sophron Mimus and Aristophanes, books of grossest infamy, and also for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the tyrant Dionysius, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on ? But that he knew this licensing of poems had reference and dependence to many other provisos there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place ; and so neither he himself, nor any magistrate or city, ever imitated that course, which taken

apart from those other collateral injunctions must needs be vain and fruitless.

Corruption creeps through other doors

[The attempt to stop corruption by regulating printing alone is useless; corruption would creep in through other doors, e.g. recreations, music, dancing etc. All these will have to be regulated. It will require an army of licensers. The village bagpipes and rebecks and ballads will have to be examined, and the city fiddlers.]

Satin

30. For if they fell upon one kind of strictness, unless their care were equal to regulate all other things of like aptness to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew 5 would be but a fond labour: to shut and fortify one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate our recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be 10 heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and Doric. There must be licensing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such Plato was provided of. It will ask more than the work of twenty licensers to ex- 15 mine all the lutes, and violins, and the guitars in every house; they must not be suffered to prattle as they do, but must be licensed what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigals, that whisper softness in chambers? The windows also, and the balconies must be thought 20 on; there are shrewd books, with dangerous frontispieces, set to sale; who shall prohibit them? shall twenty licensers? The villages also must have their visitors to inquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebeck reads, even to the ballatry, and the gamut of every municipal fiddler, for these 25 are the countryman's Arcadias and his Monte Mayors.

[There is no greater corruption in England than household gluttony. How are you to stop it? Is there to be licensing in our costumes? Who will regulate the mixed meetings between boys and girls, and who will look after all idle resort and idle company?]


31. Next, what more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, than household gluttony? who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting? and what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses
 5 where drunkenness is sold and harboured? Our garments also should be referred to the licensing of some more sober workmasters to see them cut into a less wanton garb. Who shall regulate all the mixed conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this country? who
 10 shall still appoint what shall be discoursed, what presumed, and no further? Lastly, who shall forbid and separate all idle resort, all evil company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be least hurtful, how least enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of
 15 a State.

[No use in Utopian schemes of licensing. The existence of evil in this world must be recognised. Plato's licensing of books will not help; we will have to employ along with it other forms of licensing which will make us ridiculous and wearied. The other things recommended by Plato, like education, are the only pillars to support the state and its laws. The great art lies in the ability to discern what must be restrained and punished by law and what things to be done by persuasion. If every human action were to come under regulation, what is virtue but a name?]

32. To sequester out of the world into Atlantic and Utopian polities, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this

world of evil, in the midst whereof God hath placed us unavoidably. Nor is it Plato's licensing of books will do this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licensing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrate; but those unwritten, or at least 5 unconstraining, laws of virtuous education, religious and civil nurture, which Plato there mentions as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every written statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licensing 10 will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissness, for certain, are the bane of a Commonwealth; but here the great art lies to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things persuasion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in man at ripe years 15 were to be under pittance and prescription and compulsion, what were virtue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what grammarcy to be sober, just, or continent?

Theme of Providence

 [People criticise Divine Providence for permitting Adam to commit sin! But God gave him reason and freedom to choose; otherwise Adam would have been a mere puppet. Obedience to force has no value in it. God left Adam free and set a temptation before him; and herein lay his merit if he had resisted temptation. God has given us passions within and pleasures without, but the right temperance constitutes our virtue. You cannot remove sin by removing the matter of sin, which in itself goes on increasing when you try to diminish it. You may take away his treasure from the covetous man: you cannot take away his covetousness. You cannot make men chaste by banishing all objects of lust.]

Ans. 33. Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues!

When God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing ; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience or love or gift, which is of force : God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes ; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue ? They are not skilful considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin ; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing, though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from all in such a universal thing as books are ; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left : ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercised in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste that came not thither so ; such great care and wisdom is required to the right managing of this point. *demonstrating part.*

[Suppose we could remove sin in this way : we remove virtue also ! That shows the wisdom of God who on the one hand commands justice and temperance, and on the other gives us a profusion of pleasures and minds that can transcend all limits. We should not therefore pursue a strictness that is contrary to the ways of God and nature.]

34. Suppose we could expel sin by this means ; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue : for the matter of them both is the same ; remove that, and

ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who though he commands us temperance, justice, continence, yet pours out before us, even to a profuseness, all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then 5 affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the trial of virtue and the exercise of truth?

Libellous books

[It is a bad law which restrains things in an uncertain manner, but restrains equally both good and evil. A dram of well-doing is better than many ounces of the forced prevention of evil. The growth and development of the virtue of one man is dearer to God than the restraint of ten vicious men. The order against books has hitherto been inadequate for the purpose in view,—libellous books are being produced.]

35. It would be better done to learn that the law 10 must needs be frivolous which goes to restrain things uncertainly and yet equally working to good and to evil. And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hindrance 15 of evil-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person more than the restraint of ten vicious. And albeit whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing may be fitly called our book, and is of the same effect that writings are, yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it appears 20 that this order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftener, but weekly that continued court-libel against the Parliament and City, printed, as the wet sheets can witness, and dispersed among us for all that licensing can do? yet this is the prime service, 25

a man would think, wherein this order should give proof of itself. If it were executed, you'll say. But certain, if execution be remiss or blindfold now and in this particular, what will it be hereafter and in other books?

[If the order remains in force you will have to repeal and proscribe all scandalous books and publish a list of proscribed books and forbid foreign books being circulated till they are examined. This will require an army of highly intellectual men. Some books being partly good and partly bad, a good deal of expurgation will become necessary. You will have to take measures against printers, and in short you will have to follow all the tyrannous Code of Spain and the Council of Trent.]

- 5 36. If then the order shall not be vain and frustrate, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons : ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicensed books already printed and divulged ; after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemned and which
10 not ; and ordain that no foreign books be delivered out of custody, till they have been read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also books which are partly useful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious ; this
15 work will ask as many more officials to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of learning be not damnified. In fine, when the multitude of books increase upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those printers who are found frequently offending, and
20 forbid the importation of their whole suspected typography. In a word, that this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly according to the model of Trent and Seville, which I know ye abhor to do.

[Even then your order shall remain fruitless and inadequate for the purpose in view. It cannot prevent the rise of new sects and schisms. Italy and Spain are not one whit better or wiser or more chaste for all the Inquisition has done.]

37. Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the order still would be but fruitless and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechised in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixed for many 5 ages only by unwritten traditions? The Christian faith, for that was once a schism, is not unknown to have spread all over Asia, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aimed at, look into Italy 10 and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitional rigour that hath been excuted upon books.

[Another reason showing the uselessness of the order is that you must have very learned men of a critical judgment to be made licensers. For such learned men to go through badly-written books at all seasons of the year is an impossible task. They will have no time left for their own studies. The present licensers took up the task in obedience to the wish of parliament, but they are fagged already after a short trial. You could not get better licensers than ordinary proof-correctors at a press. Hereafter we will have proud and ignorant men as licensers.]

38. Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order will miss the end it seeks, consider by the quality 15 which ought to be in every licenser. It cannot be denied but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth or death of books, whether they may be wafted into this world or

not had need to be a man above the common measure both studious, learned, and judicious ; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not ; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoves
5 him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing journey-work, a greater loss of time levied upon his head, than to be made the perpetual reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftentimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable unless at certain seasons ; but to be enjoined
10 the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scarce legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest print, is an imposition which I cannot believe how he that values time and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostril, should be able to endure. In this one thing
15 I crave leave of the present licensers to be pardoned for so thinking ; who doubtless took this office up looking on it through their obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easy and unlaborious to them ; but that this short trial hath wearied them out already,
20 their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to solicit their license are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those who now possess the employment, by all evident signs, wish themselves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his
25 own hours, is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a Press-corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter : either ignorant, imperious, and remiss, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to show, wherein this order
30 cannot conduce to that end whereof it bears the intention.

[Not only will the licensing do no good, but it will do positive harm. It discourages and affronts learned men. The old

bishops used to complain that the abolition of pluralities would put an end to learning. It was a false complaint, for with the suppression of the bishops learning has not fallen. They cared only for lucre. But this licensing discourages the learned men who write not for lucre, but for the love of God and for lasting fame. To distrust such men lest they should utter a heresy is most unworthy and insulting.]

begin the new part
argues
 39. I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offered to learning and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of prelates upon every least breath of a motion to remove 5 pluralities and distribute more equally Church revenues, that then all learning would be for ever dashed and discouraged. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning stood or fell with the clergy; nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and 10 unworthy speech of any churchman who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loth to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study and love learning for itself, not for lucre, 15 or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind, then know, that so far to distrust the judgment and 20 the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a schism or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that 25 can be put upon him.

[Is an author to be treated like a school-boy, with the licenser in place of a school-master? Is he not to be trusted while there are other laws and penalties? A man writes after proper deliberation and preparation, and the licenser may be a busy person with no experience of book-writing. He may be quite an inferior person, while the author may be a man of genius. The printing will be delayed and the press will stand still until the licenser can have leisure to examine the manuscript. Meanwhile the author may lose the context of his thoughts.]

40. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only escaped the ferula to come under the fescue of an Imprimatur? if serious and elaborate writings, as if they were no more than the theme of a grammar lad under his pedagogue, must not be uttered without the cursory eyes of a temporising and extemporising licenser? He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born for other than a fool or a foreigner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; after all which done he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him. If in this the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expense of Palladian oil, to the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and, if he be

not repulsed or slighted, must appear in print like a puny with his guardian and his censor's hand on the back of his title to be his bail and surety, that he is no idiot or seducer, it cannot be but a dishonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of 5 learning. And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancy as to have many things well worth the adding come into his mind after licensing, while the book is yet under the press, which not seldom happens to the best and diligentest writers ; and that perhaps a dozen times in one 10 book. The printer dares not go beyond his licensed copy ; so often then must the author trudge to his leave-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewed ; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licenser, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure ; mean- 15 while either the press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author lose his accuratest thoughts, and send the book forth worse than he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. 20

[What independence can an author have as a teacher when another man is to judge and direct his teaching? An acute reader will hate such a pupil teacher and cast off the book. The reader will say that the state shall be his rulers but not his critics. Authorized books contain but the language of the time and nothing new. A licenser will pass nothing that is new.]

41. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a doctor in his book, as he ought to be or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction, of his patriarchal licenser to blot or alter what 25 precisely accords not with the hide-bound humour which

he calls his judgment? When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantic licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a quoit's distance from him: 'I hate a pupil teacher; I endure not a instructor that
 5 comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgment? 'The State, sir,' replies the stationer; but has a quick turn, 'The State shall be my governors, but not my
 10 critics; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser may be mistaken in an author: this is some common stuff'; and he might add from Sir Francis Bacon that 'such authorized books are but the language of the times.' For though a licenser should hap-
 15 | pen to be judicious more than ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office and his commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already

How strange will it be if an old author's book comes to be newly printed or reprinted and the licensers find a sentence in it at which they wince. Even Knox himself would come in for the rash judgment of the licenser. If such cramping iron-moulds squeeze out the best sentences in a beautiful book and take such liberties with posthumous publications of great men, it will be a still greater sorrow to the hapless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have an understanding. Henceforth only dunces will flourish in literature.]

42. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any
 20 deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge uttered in the height of zeal, and who

knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit,
 yet not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their
 own, though it were Knox himself the Reformer of a King-
 dom that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash ;
 the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost for 5
 the fearfulness or the presumptuous rashness of a perfun-
 ctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath
 been lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence
 to be faithfully published, I could now instance, but shall
 forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things 10
 be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the
 remedy in their power, but that such iron moulds as these
 shall have authority to gnaw out the choicest periods of
 exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud
 against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, 15
 the more sorrow will belong to that hapless race of men,
 whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth
 let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly
 wise ; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and
 slothful, to be a common steadfast dunce, will be the only 20
 pleasant life and only in request.

*[This is not only an insult to the living authors ; it is an
 insult to the whole nation. The wit, art and judgment of the
 whole of England cannot be found concentrated in any group of
 twenty men, however clever. The wit of all England cannot be
 subjected to their judgment and sifting. Truth and understand-
 ing are not monopolies of a few. We cannot standardize know-
 ledge like staple goods. We cannot sharpen or polish truth like
 an axe at the forge of these licensers.]*

43. And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing
 person alive, and most injurious to the written labours and
 monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing

and vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgment which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever ; much less that it
 5 should not pass except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their strainers, that it should be uncurrent without their manual stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolised and traded in by tickets and statutes and standards. We
 10 must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broadcloth and our woolpacks. What is it but a servitude like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all
 15 quarters to twenty licensing forges.

*[If a man were convicted of writing scandalous things, and then his later works were subjected to be censored, it will be regarded as a disgraceful punishment. But to include under such a censure the whole Nation and those who have never
 been guilty in that way is clearly insulting. Debtors can walk out without a keeper ; can books not stir forth without this jailor of a licenser ? And what a reflection is it on the common people of England when we dare not trust them with a pamphlet except through the channel of a licenser ? It means we look upon the people as giddy and vicious. In Catholic countries the same thing happens.]*

44. Had any one written and divulged erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudged him, that he should never hence-
 20 forth write but what were first examined by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annexed to pass his credit for him that now he might be safely read, it could not be

apprehended less than a disgraceful punishment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectful prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more, whenas debtors and delinquents may walk 5 abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailor in their title. Nor is it to the common people less than a reproach ; for if we so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, 10 vicious, and ungrounded people, in such a sick and weak estate of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser. That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish 12 places where the laity are most hated and despised the 15 same strictness is used over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of license, nor that neither ; whenas those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other doors which cannot be shut.

[It reflects the want of strength in our ministers, from whom we expected so much, that they should be afraid of every passing pamphlet.]

45. And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our 20 Ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiency which their flock reaps by them, than that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipled, unedified, and laic rabble, as that 25 the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low

conceit is had of all their exhortations and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to three sheets of paper without a licenser ; that all the sermons, all the lectures preached, printed, vented in such
 5 numbers and such volumes as have now well-nigh made all other books unsaleable, should not be armour enough against one single enchiridion, without the castle St. Angelo of an Imprimatur.

licensing hath ruined countries.

[To show that the argument that this licensing will discourage learned men is not an empty flourish, I will show what licensing has led to in other countries. It damped the glory of Italy, where Galileo was accused by the Inquisition for daring to think about astronomy in terms not palatable to the Franciscan and Dominican licensers. Other nations thought England had more liberty.]

46. And lest some should persuade ye, Lords and Com-
 10 mons, that these arguments of learned men's discouragement at this your order, are mere flourishes and not real, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannises ; when I have sat among their learned men, for that honour I had, and been
 15 counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought : that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits, that nothing had
 20 been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought. And though I knew that
 25 England then was groaning loudest under the prelatical

yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happiness, that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty.

[Little did I think at that time that in England at that time were alive people who would bring about such a happy revolution in favour of liberty. Still less did I expect or fear that the complaints made by the learned of other countries against the Inquisition would be heard from the lips of the learned men of England against this licensing. The learned men of England have asked me to take up their case against this thralldom in the same way in which the oppressed people of Sicily asked Cicero to take up their case against the tyrant Verres.]

47. Yet it was beyond my hope that those Worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance as shall never be forgotten by any 5 revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts uttered against the Inquisition, the same I should hear by as learned men at home uttered in time of Parlia- 10 ment against an order of licensing; and that so generally, that when I had disclosed myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest quæstorship had endeared to the Sicilians, was not more by them importuned against Verres, than the 15 favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind toward the removal of an undeserved thralldom upon 20 learning.

[I am not ventilating a personal grievance: it is a general grievance of all those who are better prepared to impart and accept the truth. I shall spare neither friend nor foe and urge

that if inquisitioning and licensing is to return and if those who recently had no liberty to preach shall now in their triumph practise a second tyranny and dictate what books we are to read, there is no real difference between the old Prelate and the modern Presbyter.]

48. That this is not therefore the disburdening of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all those who had prepared their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others and from others to entertain it, 5 thus much may satisfy. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the general murmur is : that if it come to inquisitioning again and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves, and so suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every 10 leaf, before we know what the contents are, if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some but a second tyranny over learning ; and will soon put it out 15 of controversy that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing.

[Formerly some twenty-five or twenty-six bishops exercised tyranny upon books, but now every Pastor will be exalted into an archbishop to sit in judgment upon books, while governing his parish, thus exercising a plurality of office. These men who had formerly railed at the monopoly claimed by the bishops to ordain priests, will now assume a sole jurisdiction over books. We did not make the Solemn League and Covenant for this result ; this amounts to purchasing a new kind of Episcopacy. This is like creating a new metropolitan jurisdiction which beginning with fear of books will end with fear of every Christian meeting.]

49. That those evils of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty sees were distributively charged upon the

whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us : whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large diocese of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mystical pluralist. He who but of late 5 cried down the sole ordination of every novice Bachelor of Art, and denied sole jurisdiction over the simplest parish-ioner, shall now at home in his private chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books and ablest authors that write them. This is not, Ye Covenants and 10 Protestations that we have made, this is not to put down Prelaty ; this is but to chop an Episcopacy ; this is but to translate the Palace Metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another ; this is but an old canonical sleight of commuting our penance. To startle thus betimes at a 15 mere unlicensed pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every Christian meeting.

But a church founded on justice cannot be so pusillanimous. While the religious constitution is not yet settled, to restrain the freedom of writing with gags borrowed from the bishops (who had borrowed them from the Inquisition) will discourage all learned and religious men. While the bishops were being railed at, the cry was that the Presses should be open for it was the people's birth-right to speak freely. But now that the Bishops are put down, are we under another name to enslave once more the liberty of printing? And yet the arguments they themselves had used against the bishops should remind them that this violent restraint of liberty produces effects quite the opposite of those intended, increasing sects and schisms instead of decreasing them. A forbidden writing seems to carry more truth in it than it really has.]

50. But I am certain that a State governed by the rules

of justice and fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon a rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in Religion, that freedom of writing should be restrained by a discipline imitated from the Prelates, and learnt by them from the Inquisition, to shut us up all again into the breast of a licenser, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the fineness of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers : that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open : it was the people's birthright and privilege in time of Parliament, it was the breaking forth of light ? But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more but to make room for others into their seats under another name, the Episcopal arts begin to bud again, the cruse of truth must run no more oil, liberty of Printing must be enthralled again under a prelatical commission of twenty, the privilege of the people nullified, and, which is worse, the freedom of learning must groan again and to her old fetters, all this the Parliament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the Prelates might remember them that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at : instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation. 'The punishing of wits enhances their authority,' saith the Viscount St. Albans ; 'and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.' This order therefore may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily show how it will be a stepdame to Truth : and first by disabling us to the maintenance of what is known already :

. [Faith and knowledge thrive by exercise even as our limbs get strong by exercise. Truth is like a flowing stream, not a stagnant pool of tradition. Heresy is better than belief taken on trust. Some Protestants take truth on trust like the Catholics.]

51. Well knows he who uses to consider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compared in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only because his Pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy. There is not any burden that some would gladder post off to another than the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be, of Protestants and professors who live and die in as arrant an implicit faith as any lay Papist of Loretto.

No exercise of mind about Religion

[A wealthy man, given to pleasure will take his religion on trust from some theologian of note, without thinking for himself and fatiguing his mind. He only wants the name of "religious." His associating himself with that theologian is to his mind a sufficient proof of his piety. His religion is not in himself, but in his favoured theologian, whom he entertains very hospitably.]

52. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits finds Religion to be a traffic so entangled and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he do? Fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore but resolves to give over toiling, and to find himself

out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs, some Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with all the
5 locks and keys into his custody; and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself, but is become a dividual movable,
10 and goes and comes near him according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his Religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well-spiced
15 brewage, and better breakfasted than He whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem, his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his religion.

[Others there are who will take their religion cut and dry as measured out by some higher authority and they rejoice in their conformity to doctrine as regulated and settled for them by others, without worrying themselves to think, while they give themselves to pleasure.]

20 53. Another sort there be who when they hear that all things shall be ordered, all things regulated and settled, nothing written but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tonnaging and the poundaging of all free-spoken truth, will straight give themselves
25 up into your hands, make 'em and cut 'em out what religion ye please. There be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes that will fetch the day about from sun to sun,

and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have taken so strictly and so unalterably into their own purveying? These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the 5 people. How goodly, and how to be wished were such an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? Doubtless a staunch and solid piece of framework as any January could freeze together.

Work of the Clergyman

[Many of the clergymen themselves don't bother to think. They go through the same round of doctrines and ideas, with a slight permutation and combination. They make their weekly sermons by borrowing from breviaries and synopses and the multitude of ready-made sermons they find printed and piled up. The clergyman may continue to slumber peacefully with his old ideas, as long as a licenser is there at the back-door to shut out the entry of any new truth into his mind. Where there is no such licenser, he will have to keep awake and think.]

54. Nor much better will be the consequence even among 10 the clergy themselves. It is no new thing never heard of before for a parochial Minister, who has his reward and is at his Hercules' pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English Concordance and 15 a Topic folio, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduation, a Harmony and a Catena, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal heads, attended with the uses, motives, marks and means, out of which, as out of an alphabet or sol-fa, by forming and transforming, joining and 20 disjoining variously a little bookcraft, and two hours' meditation, might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning, not to reckon

up the infinite helps of interlinearies, breviaries, synopses, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of sermons ready printed and piled up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. Thomas in his vestry, 5 and add to boot St. Martin and St. Hugh, have not within their hallowed limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made; so that penury he never need fear of pulpit provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazine. But if his rear and flanks be not impaled, if his back door 10 be not secured by the rigid licenser, but that a bold book may now and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinels about his received opinions, to walk the round 15 and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduced, who also then would be better instructed, better exercised and disciplined. And God send that the fear of this diligence which must then be used do not make us affect the laziness of a licensing Church.

[If he is sure that he is in the right, it is proper for a learned and conscientious man to publish his opinions to the world. Christ urged as a justification 'the fact that he was preaching in public and not in secret. But writing is even more public than preaching and it is more easy to refute if wrong.]

20 55. For if we be sure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair than when a man judicious, learned, and 25 of a conscience, for aught we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing

publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound? Christ urged it as wherewith to justify himself, that he preached in public; yet writing is more public than preaching; and more easy to refutation, if need be, there being 5 so many whose business and profession merely it is, to be the champions of Truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth, or inability?

[In this way it is that true knowledge is hindered by licensing and if the licensers are earnest in their profession as ministers of the church, they suffer even more than those in secular employment.]

56. Thus much we are hindered and disinured by this course of licensing towards the true knowledge of what we 10 seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licensers themselves in the calling of their ministry, more than any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a 15 particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

[The loss to the cause of Truth caused by this licensing blockade is worse than that of the import of merchandise, if an enemy were to blockade our sea-ports. Licensing was first invented by those who wanted to quench the light of the Reformation. We have to thank God for the greater measure of Truth we enjoy than those in Catholic countries. But those who think we have attained the highest point of truth and reached the climax of Reformation are quite wrong.]

57. There is yet behind of what I purposed to lay open: the incredible loss and detriment that this plot of licensing

puts us to. More than if some enemy at sea should stop up all our havens, and ports and creeks, it hinders and retards the importation of our richest merchandise, Truth ; nay, it was first established and put in practice by Anti-
 5 Christian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle falsehood, little differing from that policy wherewith the Turk upholds his Alcoran by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not denied, but gladly confessed, we are to send our
 10 thanks and vows to heaven louder than most of nations for that great measure of truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between us and the Pope with his appurtenances the Prelates ; but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmost prospect
 15 of reformation that the mortal glass wherein we contemplate can show us, till we come to beatific vision, that man by this very opinion declares that he is yet far short of Truth.

[Truth came with Christ but after him and his apostles, a race of deceivers (the Catholic Church) arose and mangled and scattered the truth and we have to search and gather her scattered limbs, as Isis gathered those of Osiris. This shall go on till Christ's second coming and this licensing should not come in the way of our quest.]

58. Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look
 20 on ; but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces,
 25 and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imi-

iating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall do, till her Master's second coming ; he shall bring together every joint 15 and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyred saint. 10

[The Reformation has given us light, but we must not be dazzled by this light and must search further and discover things yet hidden from us. The end of Episcopalianism is not enough ; other things in life, political and economical, call for reform. We must not allow the dazzling glory of Zuinglius and Calvin to leave us dazed and blinded.]

59. We boast our light ; but if we look not wisely on the Sun itself, it smites us into darkness. Who can discern those planets that are oft combust, and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, until the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place 15 in the firmament, where they may be seen evening or morning ? The light which we have gained, was given us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a priest, the unmitring of a bishop, and the 20 removing him from off the Presbyterian shoulders that will make us a happy Nation ; no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life both economical and political be not looked into and reformed, we have looked so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin hath beaconed up to us, that we are stark blind. •

[We need not complain of the growth of new sects and schisms. It is only pride and ignorance that is thus disturbed. It is they who obstruct the search for truth who really divide the nation. To search for the unknown from what is known is the golden rule in theology, as in arithmetic, and makes for the best harmony in the Church.]

60. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meekness
 5 nor can convince; yet all must be suppressed which is not found in their Syntagma. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissevered pieces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not by
 10 what we know, still closing up truth to truth, as we find it (for all her body is homogeneous and proportional), this is the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a Church, not the forced and outward union of cold and neutral and inwardly
 15 divided minds.

[PERORATION. Let Parliament consider the genius and spirit of the British Nation who have shown the highest capacity for truth and discovery, so that it was even said that Pythagoras took his philosophy from the old British philosophy and Agricola preferred the intellectual gifts of Britain to those of France.]

61. Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is whereof ye are and whereof ye are the governors: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to dis-
 20 course, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that

human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest sciences have been so ancient and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and ablest judgment have been persuaded that even the school of Pythagoras and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old philosophy of this island. And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agricola, who governed once here for Cæsar, preferred the natural wits of Britain before the laboured studies of the French. 5

[It is not for nothing that Transylvania sends her scholars to learn English and England's theology. The favour of Heaven is specially inclined towards us. The first call for Reformation was raised here by Wycliffe. Without Wycliffe perhaps neither Huss and Jerome, nor Luther and Calvin would have been ever known. Our bishops suppressed the teachings of the latter, and Englishmen have now become backward scholars when God had intended them to be the foremost teachers.]

62. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men, to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chosen before any other, that out of her as out of Sion should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europe? And had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wickliff, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Huss and Jerome, no, nor the name of Luther or of Calvin had been 10 15 20

ever known ; the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest scholars, of whom
 5 God offered to have made us the teachers.

[The signs again are that God is decreeing some new and great period in his Church and the reforming of the Reformation itself. God reveals Himself to his servants and first of all to Englishmen. In this vast city of London we are forging not merely the tools of war, but the instruments of Justice in defence of Truth. There are also studious scholars, revolving new ideas, as their tribute of homage to the impending Reformation.]

63. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, even to the re-
 10 forming of Reformation itself. What does he then but reveal himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen ; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy ? Behold now this vast city : a city of refuge, the mansion
 15 house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection ; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguered Truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps,
 20 musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas where-with to present as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation, others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement.

[The Nation is so much disposed for knowledge. What more is required to make England a nation of Prophets, of Sages and Worthies? Where there is much desire to learn, there will necessarily be much disputation and forming of opinions. Opinion in good men is knowledge in the making. The fear of sects does wrong to the thirst for knowledge, stirred up in this city. This latter is rather a subject to rejoice over. A little prudence, forbearance and charity might unite all in the general search for truth. A stranger coming to Britain and seeing the diligent search for truth here, would exclaim with admiration, as King Pyrrhus exclaimed admiring the bravery of the Romans.]

64. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies? We reckon more than 5 five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks; had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these 10 fantastic terrors of sect and schism we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men to reassume the ill-reputed care 15 of their Religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join and unite in one general and brotherly search after Truth, could we but forego this prelatical tradition of 20 crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mould

and temper of a people and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as Pyrrhus did, admiring
 5 the Roman docility and courage : If such were my Epirots, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy.

[Yet these are the men whom you rail at as schismatics. But the building of the temple of the Lord requires a good deal of cutting and hewing, and a good deal of schisms and dissections in the church. In the building up of the church there cannot be all symmetry, continuity and unity of form. The perfection will consist in variety and a graceful symmetry will arise from the harmony in which small differences are grouped.]

65. Yet these are the men cried out against for schismatics and sectaries ; as if, while the temple of the Lord was
 10 building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrational men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is
 15 laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world ; neither can every piece of the building be of one form ; nay, rather the perfection consists in this : that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilarities that are not vastly dispro-
 20 portional arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure.

[Let us be wiser in spiritual architecture when a great reformation is expected. Moses the prophet will rejoice in heaven to see all the Lord's people are becoming prophets. No wonder

that some good men do envy them. They fret in agony lest these divisions will undo us. Our enemies may rejoice at these divisions, but at bottom we are firm and strong and will cut our way through all opposition. Why I think our supposed schisms will triumph over our honest fears and the malicious applause of our enemies, is for the following reasons.]

66. Let us therefore be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come wherein Moses the great prophet may sit in heaven rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfilled, when not only our seventy 5 Elders but all the Lord's people are becoming Prophets. No marvel then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodness, as Joshua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weakness are in agony, lest those divisions and subdivisions will undo us. 10 The adversary again applauds, and waits the hour; when they have branched themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow though 15 into branches; nor will beware until he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude honest perhaps though over-timorous of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh 20 in the end at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to persuade me :

[First, when the people of a city which is being besieged and threatened by an enemy finds leisure for original discourses and arguments about grave topics, it shows that these people have great confidence in the government and from it they derive

a brave spirit to defy the enemy, like the Roman gentleman who purchased at an auction sale at Rome the land on which Rome's aggressor, Hannibal, actually lay encamped at the time.]

67. First, when a city shall be as it were besieged and blocked about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battle oft rumoured to be marching up even to her walls and suburb trenches, that
 5 then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a rarity, and admiration, things not before discoursed or written of,
 10 argues first a singular good-will, contentedness and confidence in your prudent foresight and safe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives itself to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us,
 15 as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hannibal himself encamped his own regiment.

[Secondly, it is a happy augury of our final success. As in the human body, the freshness of the blood and of the spirit shows the healthiness of the body, so in the state when men engage in a lively and cheerful manner in literary discourses, and show they can guard their freedom and safety, they prove the state is not degenerated or decadent. The English Nation is like an eagle renewing its mighty youth and kindling its eyes for the full vision of the mid-day glory of heavenly truth.]

2nd 68. Next, it is a lively and cheerful presage of our happy success and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is
 20 fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous not only to vital but to rational faculties and those in the acutest and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight

and constitution the body is, so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and the sublimest points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again; entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday ^{sun} beam, purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

In this sentence Milton prophesies the history of England

[You cannot stop this flowery crop of knowledge and put up an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to cause a starving of the intellect to the country. The immediate cause of free writing is the liberty that Parliament have purchased. Liberty is the nurse of all true wits. If we are to renounce the search for truth, you must renounce your love of liberty. The greatest of all liberties is the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely.]

69. What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this city, should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured

to us by their bushel? Believe it, Lords and Commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves; and I will soon show how. If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild and free and human government; it is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us, liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves.) Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own virtue propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless law, that fathers may despatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

[Lord Brook's dying words should be pondered over. He writing about Episcopacy and sects and schisms exhorted the

station to hear with patience and humility those who desired to live purely following the dictates of their conscience.]

70. What would be best advised then, if it be found so hurtful and so unequal to suppress opinions for the newness, or the unsuitableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say ; I only shall repeat what I have learned from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious lord, who had he not sacrificed his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure ; yet I for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him—the Lord Brook. He writing of Episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with ye, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that, next to His last testament who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscalled, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God's ordinances as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world and dedicated to the Parliament by him who, both for his life and for his death, deserves that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal.

Now is come the special time to write and speak what may help discussion, which like Janus has two faces. As long as Truth remains in the field, it will be an injury for us to doubt her strength by licensing and prohibition. Let truth meet false-

hood in a free and open encounter. We should not insist on the rigid system of Calvin.]

71. And now the time in special is by privilege to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The temple of Janus with his two controversial faces might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do ~~injuriously~~ by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of Geneva, framed and fabricked already to our hands.

[It does not matter whence wisdom comes: she need not enter through our own windows only. When a labourer in the mines of knowledge issues to us an open challenge, we should meet him in open discussion and not skulk behind the narrow bridge of the licensing system. Truth needs no such stratagems, nor licensing, which are the makeshifts of error. Let truth be free and speak with her own voice and in her own image.]

72. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppose, if it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures early and late, that another order shall enjoin us to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath been labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a bat-

He ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to skulk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty. She needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power. Give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound; but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjured into her own likeness.

[Yet truth may come in many forms and may be seen on this side or that without ceasing to be herself. St. Paul boasted of Christian liberty. Many things may be tolerated in peace and left to the conscience. It is the chief stronghold of hypocrisy to be ever judging one another. Outward conformity, is an iron yoke and leaves a slavish print upon our necks. We worry ourselves unnecessarily about the growth of sects even when they agree in fundamentals, and try to suppress them. An attempt to keep up external conformity may actually land us upon error and lead to heterogeneous combinations more deadly than schisms.]

73. Yet it is not impossible that she may have more shapes than one. What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike herself? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of those ordinances, that hand-writing nailed to

the cross, what great purchase is this Christian liberty which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another! I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency yet haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardness to suppress, and our backwardness to recover any enthralled piece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We do not see that, while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of wood and hay and stubble forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms.

[I don't approve of trivial schisms, nor do I think in a church we can have all men alike. But if all cannot be of one mind, it is prudent to have toleration rather than compulsion. I would not tolerate Popery or open superstition, which also seeks to uproot civil and religious independence. But even in this case persuasion should be tried before force. I would not tolerate what is absolutely impious or evil. But I would be tolerant in small details of doctrine or discipline, which do not really distort the unity of spirit or the bonds of peace.]

74. Not that I can think well of every light separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected gold and silver and

precious stones ; it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other fry ; that must be the Angels' Ministry at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind (as who looks they should be?) this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more 5 Christian : that many be tolerated rather than all compelled. I mean not tolerated Popery and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religions and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpate, provided first that all charitable and compassionate means be used to win and regain the weak 10 and misled ; that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or manner no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlay itself ; but those neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which 15 though they may be many, yet need not interrupt the unity of Spirit, if we could but find among us the bond of peace.

[In the meanwhile if a man should write and give helpful suggestions to promote the slow progress of Reformation, if he feels a call to deliver a message, we should not like the Jesuits prohibit him. If it comes to prohibition, the greatest likelihood is that truth herself will be prohibited, for to our eyes prejudiced by custom or convention, truth often appears bleared and dimmed. The idea that no new opinions be heard except what the licensers approve is itself a new-fangled opinion and has been the prolific cause of the rise of sects, (since true knowledge is kept at a distance). When a healthful agitation for reform stirs a nation, it is true many sect-mongers and false teachers arise, but at the same time God then raises amongst us men of rare ability and enlightenment.]

75. In the meanwhile if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the slow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have spoken to him before 20

others, or but seemed at least to speak, who hath so be-
 jesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking
 license to do so worthy a deed? And not consider this, that
 if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to
 5 be prohibited than truth itself; whose first appearance to
 our eyes bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom is
 more unsightly and unplausible than many errors, even as
 the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible
 to see to. And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions,
 10 when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard
 but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of
 all others, and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so
 much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from
 us? Besides yet a greater danger which is in it: for when
 15 God shakes a Kingdom with strong and healthful commo-
 tions to a general reforming, 'tis not untrue that many
 sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing;
 but yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own
 work men of rare abilities and more than common industry,
 20 not only to look back and revise what hath been taught
 heretofore, but to gain further and go on some new en-
 lightened steps in the discovery of truth.

*[For God dispenses His light in small portions, and from
 what source His light shall arise, is not circumscribed in advance.
 He does not choose as men choose. That is so lest we should
 stickle to particular forms or places of worship. All the faith
 and religion in these sacred places will not help to edify the
 meanest Christian who desires to walk in the spirit of God.]*

76. For such is the order of God's enlightening his
 Church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as
 25 our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed
 and confined, where and out of what place these his chosen

shall be first heard to speak ; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places and assemblies and outward callings of men, planting our faith one while in the old Convocation house, and another while in the Chapel at Westminster ; 5 when all the faith and religion that shall be there canonized, is not sufficient, without plain convincement and the charity of patient instruction, to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edify the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the 10 number of voices that can be there made ; no, though Harry the VII. himself there, with all his liege tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell their number.

[If the leaders of sects are in error what prevents our meeting and answering them in debate? It should be done if not for their sake, at least for our own. For the man of learning will confess that he profits by getting in touch with new points of view. However mean they might be, they help to give a polish to our armoury of Truth. But it may be that these are persons of special gifts, and if we proceed to stop their mouths because their opinions are new, it will be a great loss to the nation.]

77. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the 15 leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly with liberal and frequent audience ; if not for their sakes, yet for our own, 20 seeing no man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who not contented with stale receipts are able to manage and set forth new

positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may serve to polish and brighten the armoury of Truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they
 5 be of those whom God hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests nor among the Pharisees, and we in the haste of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come
 10 with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we understand them, no less than woe to us, while, thinking thus to defend the Gospel, we are found the persecutors.

[I hope none of those who by their defiance of the old licensing system have helped us to these times of liberty are themselves responsible for the new licensing system. But if such is the fact, and if by their own experience in the former times they have not learnt how unacceptable to God this licensing is, and what evil it has wrought in the Church, the sooner these suppressors of liberty are themselves suppressed, the better.]

78. There have been not a few since the beginning of
 15 this Parliament, both of the Presbytery and others, who by their unlicensed books to the contempt of an Imprimatur first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day. I hope that none of those were the persuaders to renew upon us this bondage which they them-
 20 selves have wrought so much good by condemning. But if neither the check that Moses gave to young Joshua, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young John, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicensed, be not enough to admonish our Elders how
 25 unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is,

if neither their own remembrance what evil hath abounded in the Church by this let of licensing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will persuade, and execute the most Dominican part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one 5 foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequal distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves; whom the change of their condition hath puffed up more than their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

10

[As for regulating the Press there is no more wholesome rule than that formerly adopted by Parliament, viz. that no book be printed that does not bear on it the names of the Printer and the Author. For books issued otherwise, burning is the proper and most effective remedy. But the present policy of licensing is a most licentious thing, being born of the Spanish Inquisition and having in itself the likeness of a decree of the Star Chamber Court. This shows that this artificial binding of books to be on their good behaviour has neither any wisdom, or the love of the public, or regard for religion and morality to commend it. Somehow it seems the Company of Stationers has made false representations to Parliament (in order to retain their old selfish monopoly) and persuaded Parliament to pass this decree. One of their aims perhaps was to drive Royalist literature to the continent. But I will not try to probe their motives. Every good government, as well as bad, is liable to error. Magistrates will be grossly misinformed if the liberty of printing is reduced into the power of a few. But to redress speedily and willingly what has been done in error and to value plain-spoken advice more than a bribe is a virtue that belongs especially to Parliament and none can participate in it but the greatest and the wisest of men.]

79. And as for regulating the Press, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better than yourselves

have done in that order published next before this : "that no book be Printed, unless the Printer's and the Author's name, or at least the Printer's be registered." Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy that man's prevention can use. For this authentic Spanish policy of licensing books, if I have said aught, will prove the most unlicensed book itself within a short while ; and was the immediate image of a Star Chamber decree to that purpose made in those very times when that Court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fallen from the stars with Lucifer. Whereby ye may guess what kind of State prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisy it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent order so well constituted before, if we may believe those men whose profession gives them cause to inquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old patentees and monopolisers in the trade of bookselling ; who under pretence of the poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his several copy, which God forbid should be gainsaid, brought divers glosing colours to the House, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours, men who do not therefore labour in an honest profession, to which learning is indebted, that they should be made other men's vassals. Another end is thought was aimed at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that, having power in their hands, malignant books might the easier scape abroad, as the event shows. But of these sophisms and elenchs of merchandise I skill not. This I

know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident ; for what Magistrate may not be misinformed, and much the sooner, if liberty of Printing be reduced into the power of a few ? But to redress willingly and speedily what hath been erred, and in highest authority 5 to esteem a plain advertisement more than others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a virtue (honoured Lords and Commons) answerable to your highest actions, and whereof none can participate but greatest and wisest men.

Notes

AREOPAGITICA

A SPEECH FOR THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING.

Areopagitica (See Introduction), a speech addressed to the *Areopagus*, by which Milton means the British Parliament. (Cf. also note to *High Court of Parliament*).

P. 1, l. 1. *They, who to states etc.*, Those persons who address themselves to great statesmen and rulers. Note the extraordinary use of *States*, probably used in the sense of "Statesmen" unless Milton uses the word in the sense of the "Estates of the Realm".

P. 1, ll. 1-2. *They who to states . . . direct their speech*, Note the *involved* order of words, so unnatural in English Prose. Milton follows the *order of words* as in Latin Syntax.

P. 1, l. 2. *High Court of Parliament*, (Nominative of Address) Milton is addressing himself to Parliament, as the natural guardians of the rights of civic liberty. In the theory of the British Constitution the House of Lords is the highest appellate court in the realm. Milton calls Parliament—Lords and Commons—the *Areopagus of England*. The *Areopagus* was the most ancient deliberative and judicial assembly at Athens. The members belonged to the noblest families at Athens. *Vide* INTRODUCTION.

P. 1, ll. 2-3. *Or wanting such access in a private condition etc.* Or if they are private individuals (i.e. not members of parliament etc.) and cannot *speak* directly to those who carry on the government, and therefore can *only* write about it in the form of a book or pamphlet (i.e. as Milton did in the case of his pamphlets in favour of *Divorce*).

P. 1, ll. 3-4. *Write that . . . good*, Write and publish, in book form, their thoughts which they consider are of advantage to the public.

P. 1, l. 4. *I suppose them*, Here *them* refers to the word *they* with which the sentence has opened. The sentence has now become very clumsy and involved. What the author began with as the *nominative* or the *subject*, is by a change in the construction suddenly turned into an *object*. This complication follows because Milton's prose partakes of the quality of Latin Prose, and Milton is rather thinking out his thought in the complex machinery of Latin Syntax. Extraordinary change of construction!

P. 1, ll. 4-5. *As at the beginning . . . endeavour*, (The rhetorical figure of *Litotes* or *Meiosis*). Feeling that they are commencing really to perform a grave (i.e. no mean) duty.

P. 1, l. 5. *Not a little altered etc.*, They will do so with a great sense of responsibility and with agitated feelings.

P. 1, l. 7. *The success*, In Milton, this word is often used in the Latin sense of *happening* or the *result* or *issue* of an action.

P. 1, ll. 7-8. *What will be the censure*, i.e. what will be the *criticism* or "judgment" i.e. how they will be *criticised* for it.

P. 1, l. 9. *Me perhaps etc.*, Notice the Latin Order: the *object* coming before the verb *affected*, due here to rhetorical effect.

P. 1, ll. 9-10. *Each of these dispositions*, Each of these feelings.

P. 1, l. 10. *As the subject . . . entered*, According to the subject I dealt with. A reference to the various subjects Milton had dealt with will be found in the *Introduction*.

P. 1, l. 11. *And likely*, And perhaps; and probably.

P. 1, l. 12. *These foremost expressions*, These prefatory remarks.

P. 1, ll. 12-13. *Which of them swayed most*, By which of those feelings I was most affected.

P. 1, ll. 13-14. *But that the very . . . made*, But the very fact that I had entered on this attempt.

P. 1, ll. 14-15. *And the thought . . . recourse to* i.e. and the consideration that I am addressing such a responsible body as the Lords and Commons of England.

• P. 1, ll. 15-16. *Hath got preface*, Has kindled in me a powerful passion.

P. 1, ll. 15-16. *Far more preface*, These passionate feelings are far more delightful than the cold words in which a preface is usually written.

P. 2, l. 1. *Which though I stay not etc.*, Notice the Latin manner of interlocking one paragraph with another by means of a *Relative Pronoun*—purely a matter of Latin Syntax! Milton means: "Though I shall not wait to confess my feelings even before the question is put to me."

P. 2, ll. 1-4. *I shall be blameless liberty*, Nobody will blame me if I confess that I am merely inspired by the sense of joy which all feel who wish to fight for the promotion of civic liberty in their nation.

P. 2, ll. 4-5. *Whereof trophy*, The whole of this discourse of mine will be a vindication of liberty, even if it is not taken as a monument of my country's freedom. That is what has happened. The *Areopagitica* is regarded as the first monument of the cause of the Liberty of Thought and Expression. Locke's *Letters on Toleration* come a close second, and then after the lapse of a century and a half, John Stuart Mill's *Liberty* and John Morley's *On Compromise* come as a far-off third and fourth of these monuments to the cause of Great Britain's love of the Liberty of Thought.

P. 2, ll. 5-7. *For this is not commonwealth*, The essence of liberty does not lie in the fact that there should be no discontent at all in the country.

P. 2, l. 7. *That let expect*, That is a thing which nobody on earth can ever expect: discontent of one sort or another there shall always be.

P. 2, ll. 8-10. *When complaints look for*, The wise man finds the highest essence of liberty to consist in *three* things: (1) complaints (or *criticism*) can be freely made and heard, (2) complaints are carefully attended to; and (3) the grievances ventilated are remedied.

P. 2, ll. 10-17. *To which if I now of England!* If we have already realised a good deal of this freedom, it is partly due to divine help and partly due to the faithful guidance and fearless wisdom of the British Parliament—for they, have freed

England from the Stuart despotism and the superstition of the Anglican Clergy, whose repression was such that it would have tried the mettle even of the Roman heroes of old. As Roman valour again and again got the better of Rome's reverses (e.g. while fighting against Hannibal), even so had England risen and recovered herself from the depths of tyranny and superstition.

P. 2, ll. 12-13. *From such a steep . . . tyranny*, This refers to the absolutism of King Charles I under the advice of his chief minister the Earl of Strafford who pursued a repressive policy.

P. 2, l. 13. *Superstition*, This refers to the repression of the freedom of religion to the Presbyterians of Scotland and the advanced Puritans of England under the episcopalian policy of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, a pious and well-meaning man, but a great adversary of the Puritans. As Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud exercised a strict censorship on books through Licensors appointed by him; and the punishment of William Prynne, a Puritan barrister-at-law, who in his *Histriomastix* had attacked the stage and play-acting and criticised the Queen, Henrietta Maria, for taking a part in the palace theatricals (in 1634) was still fresh in Milton's memory. (*Vide* : Masson's *Life of Milton*, Vol. I, page 407, also Chapter V, pp. 289-386).

P. 2, l. 14. *Was beyond . . . recovery*, The recovery of that freedom would have tried the heroism even of the Roman patriots.

P. 2, ll. 18-20. *Neither is it . . . magistrates*, It is no derogation to God's glory, when the proper tribute of praise is given to noble-minded men and rulers.

P. 2, l. 20. *Which if I now first should begin to do*, Milton skilfully reminds Parliament (i.e. the *Long Parliament*) that this is not the first time he is offering his tribute of praise to them. His former panegyric of the British Parliament occurs in his famous *Apology for Smectymnus*. By reminding Parliament of this, viz. that he has already praised them in the past, he (1) manages to escape from the possibility of being suspected of trying to purchase favour by fine words and (2) makes it appear that Parliament should learn, in all they did, to seek the approbation of the public.

* P. 2, ll. 20-21. *After so deeds*, After such a glorious roll of meritorious achievement.

P. 2, ll. 21-23. *And such a long virtues*, And after such a prolonged debt of the whole nation to your tireless pursuit of virtuous deeds. Note the *Latin* use of *obligement*, which literally means a *binding*. The whole nation is bound in a sense of gratitude etc.

P. 2, ll. 22-23. *Obligement upon to your indefatigable virtues*, We should rather say that the realm or nation is "under an obligation to."

P. 3, ll. 1-8. *Nevertheless there being flatters not*, Milton mentions the *three things* upon whose co-existence depends the value of praise as praise, and without which praise becomes merely flattery and sycophancy. These three things are: (1) first what is praised is solidly worth being praised; (2) secondly, when the qualities praised really dwell in the person that is praised, at least there is great probability of his really possessing those qualities, and (3) thirdly, when the person who praises can demonstrably show that he is not flattering.

P. 3, l. 2. *Courtship*, Servility; sycophancy.

P. 3, l. 4. *Likelihoods*, Probability.

P. 3, ll. 5-6. *The other (when he praises)* i.e. the third.

P. 3, ll. 6-7. *By shewing writes etc.*, By showing that it is his actual belief he can prove he is not a flatterer.

P. 3, ll. 8-11. *The former two of these encomium*, I have given proof about the first two essentials of true praise [*viz.* (1) that I praised only that which deserved praise and (2) the persons I praised possessed praiseworthy qualities] on a former occasion when I defended you from the *false* praise of a certain man, *viz.* Bishop Hall. Bishop Hall, though not really sincere and though by no means a man who sympathised with Parliament in the contest of the Civil War between King and Parliament, had in a clumsy manner attempted to flatter Parliament. His unskilful encomium betrayed his insincerity. Milton had stepped forth to defend Parliament from Bishop Hall's insincere praise, which sounded like a mockery. Later on in his reply to Smectymnus, Bishop Hall praised the King and rendered the insipidity of his former praise of Parliament even more palpable.

(Notice the use of the word "endeavour" as a *Transitive Verb*.)

P. 3, ll. 9-10. *Rescuing . . . him*, Divesting from Bishop Hall the role of an admirer.

P. 3, ll. 11-12. *Impair . . . encomiums*, By false, fulsome flattery, he really managed to put a slur on your merits : he did so in a malicious manner.

P. 3, l. 11. *The latter as belonging chiefly, etc.*, (The words "the latter" refer to what is called "the other" just above). The third essential of true praise, which lies in the person praising (*viz.* that he is praising and not flattering)—and therefore in this case in myself—I have reserved to prove on this occasion. (As Milton is *criticising* Parliament in this *Areopagitica*, it is a clear proof that he is not a *flatterer*.)

P. 3, l. 14. *Magnifies*, Estimates highly.

P. 3, l. 16. *Gives ye the best covenant etc.*, Notice the use of *ye* in the accusative case, which we sometimes find in Chaucer and in Shakespeare and the other Elizabethan writers. The proper accusative (and also the *dative*) is *you* (Old English *eow* and in Chaucer often spelt *yow*). The strict nominative is *ye* and in modern practice, we generally use *ye* as the *Nominative of Address*.

P. 3, l. 16. *The best covenant of his fidelity*, The best guarantee of his truth or sincerity.

P. 3, l. 17. *Waits on your proceedings*, (This expression is really a *Latinism*) Attends upon all you do ; follows your actions with admiration.

P. 3, ll. 19-20. *Hold by argument*, Maintain by logical argument.

P. 3, ll. 20-22. *It would fare . . . were called in*, It would be better in the interest of the promotion of truth, learning and the welfare of the State, if a certain ordinance passed by you were withdrawn. The *Order* referred to is the Ordinance against unlicensed printing passed by the Long Parliament, which came into operation in June 1643. Milton had published his first pamphlet on *Divorce* without license or registration, in 1643, soon after his marriage, and republished it in the same way in February, 1644. The Stationers' Company petitioned the House of Commons against this unlicensed pamphlet under the provisions

of this Ordinance. The House of Commons referred the matter to a Committee, which in recognition of Milton's services let the matter drop. Meanwhile Milton wrote the *Areopagitica*, vindicating "the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing".

P. 3, l. 22. *Were called in*, *Were revoked*.

P. 3, ll. 23-24. *It could not . . . government*. It is bound to reflect great honour on your mild and just government.

P. 3, l. 24. *Whenas* (private etc.), *When* (private etc.). This use of *whenas* (sometimes "when *that*") instead of the simple *when* is very common in Chaucer and in Elizabethan English. The words *as* and *that* were thus often added on as explanatory particles. The expression : *whereas* has still survived. In Elizabethan English we often find, for instance, "because *that*" being used instead of "because" being used by itself. Cf. Herrick : —

"*Whenas* in silks my Julia goes etc."

For "when that", cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar* :—

"When *that* the poor have cried, Caesar hath wept :
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff" etc.

(Act III, Sc. ii, 96-97.)

P. 3, l. 25. *Are animated to think etc.*, *Are impressed with the thought that you are better pleased etc.* Note the *antithesis* : "pleased with public advice" is contrasted with "delighted with public flattery."

P. 3, l. 26. *Statists, Statesmen*. The word (*viz.* *statist*) is now obsolete. Shakespeare uses it in *Hamlet* V, ii, ll. 33-34, *viz.*

"I once did hold it, as our *statists do*,
A baseness to write fair."

Also in *Cymbeline*, II, iv, ll. 15-16 :—

"I do believe it,
Statist though I am none, nor like to be."

The word is also used by Wordsworth in *Poet's Epitaph* :—

"Art thou a *statist*, in the van
Of public conflicts trained and bred?"

Compare also the use of the word *states* in the opening sentence.

P. 3, l. 29. *Triennial Parliament*, In April, 1640 King Charles I, after a long term of government without calling a meeting of Parliament, summoned at Oxford a Parliament, which he dis-

solved within one month, as it refused to accede to his terms. This is known as the *Short Parliament*. In November 1640, he was forced to call another Parliament, known as the *Long Parliament*, because the remnant of it called the *Rump* in the time of Oliver Cromwell continued to function till 1660, without voluntary dissolution, though during the Commonwealth Period, the Barebones Parliament and others usurped its place for a time. One of the earliest measures of the Long Parliament was to pass a *Triennial Act* by which it was enacted that more than three years must not elapse without a meeting of Parliament being summoned. This *Triennial Act* must not be confused with another Act with a similar title, which was passed in 1690 during the reign of William III and Queen Mary. This latter Act provided that fresh *Elections* of Parliament must be held once in *three years*. The latter Act was replaced in the reign of King George I by the *Septennial Act*, making fresh elections of members of Parliament obligatory once in *seven years*.

P. 3, ll. 29-30. *That jealous haughtiness . . . of late*, Milton refers to the absolute government of Charles I when his principal advisers were the Earl of Strafford ["cabin counsellors"] and Archbishop Laud ["prelates"].

P. 3, l. 29. *Prelates*, Bishops; church advisors generally.

P. 3, l. 30. *Cabin*, Cabinet. The word is contemptuously used. The king's advisory council is meant. They were looked down upon by the Parliament Party, which Milton stood for. Hence the element of contempt in the expression.

P. 3, l. 30. *Usurped of late*, The expression reflects on the fact that the King carried on his government without reference to Parliament and through the agency of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, especially from 1629 to 1640.

P. 3, l. 30—P. 4, l. 1. *Whenas they shall observe ye*, For "whenas" = "when" see note above, and for "observe ye", see note to "Gives ye the best covenant etc." above.

P. 4, l. 1. *In the midst of your victories*, This refers to the victories of the Parliament party against the King's party during the Civil War.

P. 4, l. 2. *Brooking*, Tolerating.

P. 4, l. 2. *Exceptions*, (Legal term) Objections.

* P. 4, ll. 2-3. *Against a voted Order*, Against an Order duly passed in Parliament.

P. 4, l. 3. *Than other Courts*, i.e. than Courts like those of Charles I.

P. 4, l. 4. *Ostentation of wealth*, Pomp and display of wealth.

P. 4, ll. 4-6. *Would have endured Proclamation*, Would have tolerated the least sign of protest made against any of their edicts.

P. 4, ll. 8-9. *If I should thus far greatness*, If I were to be so presumptuous as to take advantage of your gentility and meekness in the exercise of your greatness.

P. 4, l. 8. *Civil and gentle greatness*, Here "civil" means something like *civilised* or *refined*.

P. 4, ll. 9-10. *As what your published Order hath directly said, that to gainsay*, Here we have another pretty stiff example of Milton's cumbrous prose. The real *prose order* is: "as to gainsay that which (= what) your published Order hath directly said" and the meaning is:—"So as to oppose what has been expressly stated in your order against the liberty of printing and publication." "Gainsay" is "oppose" or "contradict."

P. 4, l. 10. *I might defend myself with ease*, I should be easily able to defend myself.

P. 4, l. 11. *Accuse me of being new*, In this expression, the word "new" is used somewhat in the sense in which the Latin word for "new" (*viz. novus*) is used in the idiomatic expression: *res novae*, meaning a "revolution". Thus *new* has here the force of *revolutionary*, and "accuse me of being new" means "accuse me of revolutionary ideas in society." This is therefore a *Latinism*. There may also be the meaning of *upstart*.

P. 4, l. 11. *Or insolent*, In the same way as *new* above, the word *insolent* is here used not merely in the usual English sense of *arrogant* or *proud*, but partly in the (1) original *Latin* sense of *unusual* and partly in (2) the English sense of *proud*.

P. 4, ll. 11-12. *Did they but know*, If only they knew.

P. 4, ll. 12-13. *How much better Greece*, How much you value the imitation of the cultured ways of the ancient Greek people.

P. 4, ll. 12-13. *The old and elegant humanity of Greece*, For the word *humanity* (used in the sense of the Latin word *Humanitas*), compare the expression "humanities" or "literac humaniores" (= more humane or cultured studies) used in the old English Universities for *classical studies*. In the days of Milton Greek authors were more diligently studied, at least by all who aimed at distinction in politics or literature; and this will always perhaps be the case, when a democratic feeling exists in the public mind. Partly it was the result of the Renaissance influence, which took more of a Latin character in the days of Bacon and Shakespeare and a more Greek tone in the days of Milton, which were democratic days, as in the democracy of Athens. Hobbes, the Philistine of modern history and the defender of absolutism, says Mr. J. A. St. John in his edition of the *Prose Works of John Milton*, "is accused of having for this reason, counselled the destruction of Greek authors, but he translated Homer and Thucydides, from neither of whom could absolute monarchy derive much support."

P. 4, ll. 13-14. *Than the barbaric pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian stateliness*, Than caring for the imitation of the barbarous ways of the Huns and the Norsemen, with all their pomp. Here "Hunnish" and "Norwegians" are contemptuous terms. The *Huns* were the followers of Attila (German *Etzel*) who died in 453 A.D. He was called the "Scourge of God". He overthrew the Roman Empire. The Huns were Mongol hordes, from the north-east of the Caspian. But Attila's empire extended from the Rhine to the frontiers of China. The word *Hun* is still found in the name of the country called Hungary. By *Norwegians* Milton means the wild Norse warriors from Scandinavia. For *barbaric*, cf. Milton's *Paradise Lost II*, l. 4: "*barbaric* pearl and gold."

P. 4, ll. 14-15. *Out of those ages*, viz. the times of Greek civilization.

P. 4, l. 15. *Polite wisdom and letters*, "Polite" is "polished" or "refined". *Letters* is "literature" and *wisdom* is "philosophy."

P. 4, ll. 15-16. *We owe . . . Jutlanders*, We are obliged for not being reduced to the barbarism of the Goths and the Danes. The Goths were barbarous German tribes who afterwards con-

quered most parts of the Roman Empire in Europe. They are usually grouped with the Huns as barbarians, though the Goths were Germans i.e. Aryans and the Huns belonged to the Mongolian stock. *Jutlanders* are people from the extreme north of Denmark. The *Goths* are first mentioned in literature in Tacitus's *Germania*.

P. 4, ll. 16-17. *I could name him who from his private house etc.*, The reference is to Isocrates, (436-338 B.C.) whose discourse to the Areopagus of Athens called the *Areopagiticus* suggested the title of Milton's work. See the *Introduction*. In one of his earlier sonnets addressed to Lady Margaret Lee Milton alludes to this great man, but without naming him :—

“As that dishonest victory

At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,

Killed with report that old man eloquent”,

The “old man eloquent” was Isocrates, a friend and contemporary of Demosthenes, the great orator. Both these men denounced the plots of Philip of Macedon (father of Alexander the Great) to conquer Greece and put an end to the Greek spirit of independence. Hence Milton's sympathy with Isocrates.

P. 4, ll. 17-18. *Wrote that discourse Athens*, (See *Introduction*). The discourse is the *Areopagiticus* of Isocrates, addressed to the Parliament of Athens, that is, the *Areopagus*.

P. 4, ll. 18-19. *That persuades established*, Isocrates advocated the re-establishment of the older form of Democracy at Athens, as the only way to frustrate the imperialistic designs of Philip of Macedon.

P. 4, l. 18. *Heard them gladly*, This particularly applies to the Sophists like Hippias and Protagoras, who travelled from city to city.

P. 4, ll. 18-19. *If they had aught state*, If they had to give any public warning to the rulers of the state.

P. 4, l. 22. *That cities and signories*, So that cities and signories. By the terms “cities and signories”, Milton means “republics and absolute monarchies”. Each Greek city was a free republic. By the latter term Milton means states under signiors or absolute lords, what the Greeks called *tyrannos*, though the Greek word signified “unconstitutional rulers” and not neces-

sarily "tyrants". Shakespeare uses the word *signories* in the *Tempest*, viz. "Though all the signories it (i.e. Milan) was the first."

P. 4, l. 24. *Dion Prusaëus*, i.e. Dion of Prusa, so called because he was born at Prusa in Bithynia. He was called "Chrysostomos" (i.e. "he of the golden mouth") because of his eloquence. He was the most famous of the Greek Rhetoricians from the reigns of Nero to Trajan. He lived from 50 to 117 A.D. He was banished from Rome by the Emperor Domitian. Eighty of his orations or treatises on politics, morals, philosophy etc. are extant, with fragments of fifteen others. In the speech to which Milton refers here Dion protests against the strange custom of the people of Rhodes to make public statues do duty (after a change in the inscription) for any new person who might suddenly come into public favour.

P. 5, l. 1. *To set here*, To describe in this place.

P. 5, ll. 4-5. *Haply the worst . . . latitude*, Intellectual attainments not very bad perhaps for a man who has lived fifty years in this cold climate of the north at 52 degrees, north latitude. The suggestion here is that the warmer climate of the Mediterranean is favourable for intellectual pursuits. To the drawback of a colder climate and of advanced age Milton refers again in *Paradise Lost* IX, ll. 44-45, viz. :—

"Unless an age too late, or cold

Climate, or years, damp my intended wing."

In his *Life of Milton*, Dr. Johnson ridicules this notion.

P. 5, l. 5. *If so much must be derogated etc.*, If a large deduction is to be made from the wonderful mental qualities of those great men to fit me for a comparison with them, since my intellectual powers would be thought to be lagging behind. To "derogate" means to "detract" or "subtract".

P. 5, l. 6. *This privilege*, The privilege of being allowed to "admonish the state."

P. 5, ll. 6-8. *I would obtain to be thought . . . their counsel*, Still I would claim that I am not very much inferior to them as I also claim that you—the Parliament of England—are likewise superior to most of the states or public assemblies to whom the Greek orators above-mentioned addressed themselves. Mr.

St. John remarks that this is "a noble compliment both to Milton himself and to Parliament", and he adds "Old Montaigne would have been satisfied with this self-confidence."

P. 5, ll. 6-7. *Obtain (to be thought)*, The word is used in the Latin sense, not meaning to "gain" or "procure" but in the sense of *hold* or *maintain* a point in argument.

P. 5, ll. 10-12. *Than when your . . . heard speaking*, The greatest proof of their superiority is that they are always prepared to listen to the voice of reason, whoever might be speaking.

P. 5, ll. 12-14. *And renders you . . . predecessors*, And another proof is that after listening to arguments for and against, you are prepared, if convinced, to repeal your own acts as you have repealed the acts of your predecessors.

P. 5, ll. 11-12. *From what quarter soever it be heard speaking, etc.*, Mr. St. John gives the following note on this passage :—

"Milton appears in this passage to glance at a sportive and beautiful remark of Socrates from the *Phaedrus*. His youthful companion having insinuated that the Egyptian story of Theuth and Thamus, which he had just been relating, was one of his own amusing inventions, the philosopher replies : 'The ministers of the Dodonaean Jupiter inform us, my friend, that the first oracles were delivered from an oak ; and the people of those days, not being so wise as we are now become, cared not, so that what they heard were true, whether it proceeded from a rock or a tree. But to you, perhaps, the country of the speaker makes a difference ; to discover what is true, not being your sole object.'"

P. 5, l. 15. *As it were an injury etc.*, A modern orator would put this remark between two dashes, or in a parenthesis and say : "—and it would be an injury to think you were not—". *Injury* is injustice.

P. 5, l. 16. *Withhold me from*, Prevent me from.

P. 5, l. 17. *Fit instance*, A good opportunity.

P. 5, ll. 18-20. *That uprightness . . . to yourselves*, That impartiality in coming to a decision which will not admit of any partiality to your own former ideas.

P. 5, ll. 20-21. *By judging over again ordained*, By revising your decision about the regulations as regards printing and publication.

P. 5, ll. 21-24. "*To regulate printing appointed*", See the Introduction. This is the gist of the order passed by Parliament against which Milton makes the present appeal.

P. 5, ll. 23-24. *At least one of such appointed*, At least by one such licenser of publications as would be appointed for this purpose.

P. 5, ll. 24-25. *For that part which preserves justly every man's copy to himself*, i.e. for that part of the order which protects a man's copyright in his book. Lord Mansfield in a trial for copyright, laid considerable stress on this passage in Milton, as an authority of weight in favour of an author's copyright.

P. 5, l. 25. *Or provides for the poor*, It would seem the order passed by Parliament provided for the continuation of the old custom of the Company (i.e. Guild) of Stationers (i.e. Publishers), according to which the profits derived from some publications were granted to the Company of Stationers "for their relief and maintenance of their poor" and nobody was permitted to reprint such books without proper license and consent.

P. 5, l. 27. *Painful men*, Laborious men.

P. 6, ll. 1-3. *But that other part of licensing quadregesimal and matrimonial etc.*, But that part of the licensing system (i.e. as regards books) which we thought had come to an end at the same time as licenses about Lent and marriages came to an end with the overthrow of the episcopal system in the church. *Eating meat* was forbidden in Lent (i.e. the period of forty days just before Easter) in the Catholic Church and thereafter in the Anglican Church, but the bishops used to grant special licenses to particular persons for eating meat in Lent (especially soldiers and sick people). This naturally came to an end, when the bishops were removed by Parliament in the Civil War period. (Formerly there used to be appointed by Act of Parliament certain days called FISH DAYS on which fish only and no meat could be eaten.)¹ In the same way in the Catholic Church and in the Anglican Church, marriage was looked upon as a "Sacrament" and had to be sanctioned or "licensed" by the Church. Milton held marriage as a civil contract and held

the ministers of the church had nothing to do about "licensing" marriage. Therefore he defended *Divorce*, which the Church has always been reluctant to recognise. Milton here says that with the fall of the Anglican Bishops, he thought the whole "Licensing" system had become obsolete, both as regards Lent and Marriage and as regards the publication of books too.

P. 6, l. 3. *Quadragesimal*, Referring to Lent, which lasts for forty days. The word "Quadragesimal" is derived from a Latin word meaning "forty". This adjective (meaning "Lenten") is not a pedantic Latinism of Milton's invention, but besides being used in the Catholic Church, the word also occurs in one of Cartwright's comedies :—

"But Quadragesimal wits and fancies lean
As Ember weeks."

P. 6, l. 3. *When the prelates expired*, In 1641, the radical Puritans in the Long Parliament brought a *Root and Branch Bill* for the abolition of the Episcopacy. However this did not fully succeed, though Bishops were soon afterwards expelled from the House of Lords. The final abolition of the Episcopacy and substitution of Presbyterianism in its place came into effect about 1645, i.e. a year after the publication of the *Areopagitica*. In any case when Milton was writing the book, episcopacy was on its last legs, and was soon to totter to a fall.

P. 6, l. 4. *I shall now attend with such a homily*. Note that in grammar the object of attend is "that other clause of licensing books" which precedes some three or four lines above—a remarkable case of *Inversion*. The meaning of *attend* is "to turn one's mind towards." Here it is used as a Transitive Verb. "Homily" (from Greek *homilia*, an assembly, a sermon—derived from *homos*, the same and *ile*, a crowd) is a sermon expounding a passage from Scripture, or a hortatory discourse. Milton means he is going to discuss this other sort of "licensing".

P. 6, ll. 4-10. *Lay before ye, first . . . next . . . and that this order avails nothing . . . last, that it will etc.*, In this long sentence Milton exhibits the four-fold plan of the Argument of the *Areopagitica*: *first* he will show that this licensing system comes of a bad parentage, *secondly* that a general reading of books, good, bad, or indifferent is a healthy and energising intel-

lectual diet ; *thirdly* that this order does not serve its real purpose, since immoral books are not really suppressed by it, and *fourthly* and lastly, this licensing is a pernicious thing, as it discourages learning and stops the diffusion of truth, obstructing discovery and invention and making us blunt in our minds.

P. 6, ll. 5-6. *The inventors . . . own*, I'll show you that the origin of the licensing system rests with people whom you will be heartily ashamed to have followed.

P. 6, ll. 6-7. *Next what . . . books be*, What should be our aim in general reading of whatever quality the books might be.

P. 6, ll. 7-8. *Avails . . . suppressing of*, Has no power whatever to suppress immoral, seditious, or libellous books.

P. 6, l. 10. *Primely*, Principally.

P. 6, l. 12. *Disexercising*, Stopping the exercise of ; causing the disuse of.

P. 6, l. 13. *Hindering cropping etc.*, (Metaphor from the pruning or lopping of plants). Obstructing a discovery in its earliest stages and cutting it off too prematurely.

P. 6, ll. 14-15. *In Religious and civil Wisdom*, In the knowledge of social, political and religious subjects.

P. 6, ll. 17-18. *To have a vigilant . . . men*, To guard against the debasement of literature as we guard against the debasement of people's morals.

P. 6, ll. 19-20. *Do sharpest . . . malefactors*, Punish the writers of bad books (i.e. immoral books etc.) as offenders.

P. 6, ll. 20-22. *But do contain . . . progeny they are*, They have a strong potentiality of active life in them, as much as the soul of the man who has written them.

P. 6, ll. 22-23. *As in a vial*, As in a phial or bottle, in which for instance perfumes and essences are kept. (*Vial* and *phial* are variant forms : the Greek word *phiale* denoted a flat saucer-shaped vessel from which libations were offered to the gods, like the vessel called *patera* (diminutive *patella*) in Latin. But in English a *phial* is usually a small narrow-necked bottle, with a lip for dropping perfumes and essences drop by drop.

P. 6, ll. 22-24. *They do preserve . . . bred them*, Books preserve the spirit or essence of the thought of the author in a most lively manner, like a perfume carefully preserved in a phial.

• P. 6, l. 24. *They are as lively*, i.e. the "efficacy and extraction etc." are lively—i.e. the spirit or essence of thought in an author is lively. "Lively" means "having vitality or power."

P. 6, l. 25. *As those fabulous dragon's teeth*, This magnificent image from Greek Mythology shows the infinite skill with which Milton could convert his reading, whether common or obscure, into a means of enriching and enlivening his style. The reference is to the stories of Jason and Cadmus. When Cadmus was laying the foundations of Troy, he killed a dragon and on the advice of Pallas Athene, he sowed its teeth, whence a harvest of armed men sprang up. They killed each other with the exception of five, and from these five the people of Thebes were descended. These dragon-teeth appear also in the story of Jason. Somehow they came into the possession of Aetes, King of Colchis and Jason going there in search of the "golden fleece" was able to sow them, with the assistance of the Colchican princess Medea, who had fallen in love with him.

P. 7, ll. 2-3. *Unless . . . good book*, Unless great care is taken, the suppression of a book may in its effects turn out to be worse than murder.

P. 7, l. 4. *God's image*, God is said to have created man in His own image. See *Genesis* I, 27.

P. 7, l. 6. *As it were in the eye*, Man, a "reasoning creature" is like the image of God, and in man *Reason* is supreme over all other faculties and bodily organs. Similarly among the "organs of the senses", the Eye is the most delicate and sensitive and the supreme organ of perception and the apprehension of objective things. The *Reason* by which man distinguishes things is therefore compared to the eye. A man who kills a book kills Reason itself, (the book being the product of Reason) and so to say destroys the "eye of the image of God". Thus "killing" a book is like destroying the image of God in the eye.

P. 7, ll. 6-7. *Lives a burden to the earth*, This is a Homeric expression ("achthos, aroures"), but it is also a commonplace of Indian thought.

P. 7, ll. 7-9. *But a good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life*, This is probably the greatest dictum to be found anywhere in Milton's prose, which has passed into general quotation.

tation. It was adopted as a motto by the editors of *Everyman's Library* in their earlier volumes. The meaning is : "a good book contains in its thoughts and spirit the very life-blood of the author, which it continues and preserves for future ages, after his earthly life is over, in the same way in which the ancient Egyptians preserved the remains of the dead."

P. 7, l. 8. *Embalmed*, Preserved from decay by aromatic drugs, as the ancient Egyptians did in the case of the dead. The "mummies" buried in the Egyptian pyramids were thus "embalmed."

P. 7, l. 9. *Life beyond life*, Mr. Cotterill quotes from Wordsworth's *Sonnets on the Duddon* the illustrative lines :—

"Enough, if something from our hands have power
To live and act and serve the future hour."

P. 7, ll. 9-10. *No age loss*, No lapse of time can restore even the most worthless life, but then in such a case the world suffers no loss.

P. 7, ll. 10-12. *Revolutions worse*, On the other hand the lapse of many cycles of time will not be able to restore or compensate for the loss (by persecution or any other form of persecution) of a truth (i.e. true theory or doctrine), and then the whole world will be the worse for this loss.

P. 7, l. 10. *And revolutions*, One might expect "*But revolutions*" since there is an opposition to the thought of the previous sentence.

P. 7, ll. 13-15. *Living labours of public men* i.e. their books.

P. 7, ll. 14-15. *How we spill books*, How we destroy the spiritual life of a man which is preserved in his books.

P. 7, ll. 15-16. *Since we committed*, Since we see that this is really a sort of murder.

P. 7, l. 17. *If it extend to the whole impression*, If it covers all the printed copies of a book.

P. 7, l. 19. *Elemental life*, i.e. the material life—the life which depends on and consists in the elements of fire, air, earth and water.

P. 7, ll. 19-20. *Strikes at itself*, Attacks the fifth essence (the "quintessence" as it was called) viz. the ethereal essence of the spirit or soul of man [The body was supposed to be made

of the four *gross* elements, fire, air, earth etc., while the soul of man was supposed to be made out of *ether*,] which shows itself in man's reasoning faculty.

P. 7, ll. 19-20. *Fifth essence*, See note above. It was the ether of which the soul was supposed to be made. It was called the *Quintessence*, from Latin : *quintus* = fifth.

P. 7, ll. 21-22. *Condemned of introducing licence*, We would say "condemned for". But Milton uses a *Latinism*. In Latin verbs having the meaning of accusing, condemning, convicting etc. are followed by the *genitive* case.

P. 7, l. 22. *Introducing licence*, Milton often plays on the difference between license and liberty. A verse in one of his famous sonnets (*Sonnet VII*) reads : "Licence they mean when they call liberty."

P. 7, ll. 22-23. *I refuse not the pains etc.*, I shall willingly enter on an elaborate historical survey on the subject of the liberty of thought.

P. 7, l. 26. *The Inquisition*, This was an ecclesiastical tribunal in the Roman Catholic Church (officially styled *The Holy Office*) for the suppression of heresy and punishment of heretics. It was at first in the hands of the Dominican friars and was first created for the extirpation of heresy in the south of France in the 13th century. After the rise of Protestantism, it became very powerful, especially in Spain, Portugal and France and the colonial possessions of those countries (such as Goa !). One of its principal duties was the examination and licensing of new publications. The Inquisition was abolished in France in 1772 and in Spain in 1834, but a branch of it still exists in the Catholic Church for the examination of heretical literature.

P. 7, l. 26. *Crept out of the Inquisition*, Milton holds that the licensing system was a product of the Inquisition.

P. 7, ll. 26-27. *Was caught up by our prelates*, Was taken up by Anglican bishops like Archbishop Laud and others. Notice the obsolete form "caught".

P. 7, l. 27... *And hath caught some of our presbyters*, Notice the *antithesis* : the licensing system "was fished up" out of the Inquisition and it "has now fished up" some of our *presbyters* !

P. 7, l. 27. *Presbyters*, The word *presbyter* (Greek) literally means an "elder" and was applied to priests or ministers

of the church. The word *priest* is really a corruption of the word *presbyter*. But Milton sometimes opposes the two terms, so that *priest* in Milton often stands for a minister of the Catholic or Anglican Church, i.e. any church of the Episcopalian character, a church which recognises bishops, while the term *Presbyter* is generally used by Milton of a *minister* of a church that recognises no bishops, like most of the Puritan sects, and the term is particularly used to denote a minister of the National Church of Scotland, which is what is called a *Presbyterian Church*.

P. 8, l. 1. *In Athens*, Athens was the centre of Greek culture, the haunt of poets, philosophers and artists. Cf. *Paradise Regained* IV, 240-246 :-

"Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits,
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades ;
See there the olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long." etc.

P. 8, l. 1. *Where books and wits were ever busier etc.*, Cf. the quotation from *Paradise Regained*, IV in the above note, particularly the lines italicised.

P. 8, l. 5. *Protagoras*, In Plato's Dialogue bearing the name of *Protagoras*, Protagoras boasts of the boldness with which he had always professed himself a *sophist*; "and yet he reached extreme old age before the impiety of his doctrines incurred the displeasure of the court of Areopagus. Other sophists disguised their real characters in various ways: some travelling about as teachers of music; some as architects or physicians." [St. John's Note.] Protagoras is said to have been the first to proclaim himself a "Sophist" and the first who taught for pay. Protagoras was born about 480 B.C. and died in 411 B.C. Plato says that Protagoras made more money than Pheidias and ten other sculptors. In 411 B.C. he was accused of impiety by Pythodorus. His impeachment was followed by his banishment, or as some affirm, only by the burning of his books. A *Sophist* (in the original sense) is one who professed to teach skill and practical

life instead of only theory and abstract truth. The Sophist's profession was to fit men for practical life. The Sophists trained their pupils to persuade others to take their view, *whatever it might be*, since at that time success in political life depended upon skilful oratory and upon the powers to *maintain in speech, if need be, a bad cause*.

P. 8, l. 5. *Judges of the Areopagus*, See *Introduction*.

P. 8, l. 6. *Commanded to be burnt*, See note to *Protagoras* above.

P. 8, l. 7. *A discourse*. The title of the discourse was "About gods." Protagoras was a sceptic.

P. 8, ll. 10-11. *As against . . . censured libelling*. The old comedy (*Vetus Comoedia*) of Athens was the offspring of the political and social vigour and freedom of the age during which it flourished. It naturally declined and ceased with the decline and overthrow of the freedom and vigour which were necessary for its development. This happened when on account of the continued defeats in the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta (the latter being assisted by Persia), an oligarchical form of government was set up at Athens by Peisander and others in 411 B.C. This is called the *Council of the Four Hundred*, and though Athenian democracy was again restored, still after the conquest of Athens by the Spartan Lysander in 404 B.C., the city fell into the hands of the Thirty Tyrants. During these periods of despotism, Athenian liberty was seriously curtailed and it was during this time, that the unrestricted license of the *Old Comedy*, with its libellous attacks on the notable personalities of the day, was suppressed.

P. 8, l. 10. *Vetus Comoedia*, (See note above) The Ancient Comedy. We have in Greek three kinds of Comedy: (1) the *Ancient Comedy* of which the plays of Aristophanes are good examples; (2) the *Middle Comedy* of which no examples have survived and (3) the *New Comedy*, of which we have only a few fragments are left in Greek, but good examples of which we find in the Latin Comedies of Plautus and Terence. *The main characteristic of the Ancient Comedy was that it was political. It attacked and caricatured living personalities. Everything that bore on the political, social or religious interests of

Athens furnished materials for it. This old Attic comedy lasted from 458 to 404 B.C. The chief writers of it were Cratinus, Hermippus, Eupolis and especially Aristophanes (444 B.C.-380 B.C.). The dance of the chorus was the chief feature of this comedy, and the chorus was of a comic character. Thus in one play of Aristophanes the chorus consists of *Frogs*—i.e. the chorus-boys were disguised as frogs. In the *Frogs*, Aristophanes attacks the contemporary tragedian, Euripides. In the *Clouds* (where the chorus consists of *Clouds*), he attacks Socrates; in the *Knights*, he attacks the demagogue Cleon. Aristophanes had great poetical genius, though he wrote with a political purpose. He was a patriotic conservative and thought the miseries of Athens were due to the demagogues and the sophists, among whom he unjustly put Socrates, though he had been once his disciple. The later plays of Aristophanes, written after the *Council of the Four Hundred* came into power, 411 B.C., are restrained in their satire as the Council had brought in a law to put down personal attacks. His later comedies are generally restrained in the speeches of the chorus and belong *rather* to the Middle Comedy. In the *Middle Comedy*, the subject of satire turns from personalities and individuals to social *classes* or *professions*, and it likewise criticises the systems and merits of philosophers, or parodies poets or travesties mythological subjects. These plays had no chorus. The most celebrated authors of the *Middle Comedy* were Antiphanes and Alexis. The *Middle Comedy* lasted from 404 B.C. to the overthrow of Greek liberty by Philip of Macedon, 338 B.C. The *New Comedy* was a further development of the last kind. It answered as nearly as possible to the modern comedy of manners or character. It dropped for the most part personal allusions, caricature, ridicule and parody, which in a milder form than in the *Ancient Comedy* had maintained themselves in the *Middle Comedy*. The new comic poets reproduced in a generalized form a picture of the everyday life. There were various standing characters, like the false procurer, the frenzied lover, the sly servant, the deceitful mistress or the helpful friend, the battling soldier, the greedy parasite, the obstinate parents, the forward courtesans etc. Here again there was no chorus. The most distinguished writers were Diphilus, Menander and Polyclitus, whose plays have survived in their Latin

adaptations by Plautus and Terence. Horace in his *Art of Poetry*, condemns the licence of the *Old Comedy*.

P. 8, ll. 9-10. *That, none should be traduced by name*, That there should be no direct personal attacks, as was done in the *Old Comedy* of Aristophanes, as when he attacked Cleon, Socrates, and Euripides. To understand this fully, the student should note that while these persons were alive, Aristophanes brought these *characters* on the stage-- of course some actor playing the part of Cleon, Socrates, Euripides etc.

P. 8, l. 12. *As Cicero writes*, Cicero makes this remark in his treatise, *De Deorum Natura* ("On the Nature of the Gods"), where he says that penalties like those inflicted on Protagoras must "have made men slower to profess atheism seeing that even doubt did not escape punishment." Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 B.C.-43 B.C.) was the greatest orator of Rome. He also wrote on philosophy, while his *Letters* to his friends and especially to a bosom-friend, Atticus, entitle him to be considered as the prince of Letter-Writers. In philosophy he was a follower of Plato.

P. 8, l. 14. *As the event showed*, As the result proved.

P. 8, l. 15. *Tending to voluptuousness* i.e. tending to Hedonism, such as the philosophy of Epicurus and the Cyrenaic Aristippus.

P. 8, l. 17. *Epicurus*, (342 B.C.-270 B.C.) Celebrated Greek Philosopher who preached that "Pleasure or the absence of Pain, is the highest good." This is to be sought in repose of mind ("Atarasia") and since virtue tends to this repose, therefore virtue is essential for true happiness. On the opposite side, the Stoics, (led by their founder Zeno) held the view that "Virtue is the highest good" and must be sought for itself. Epicurus did not forbid sensual pleasures, but he demanded that man should be independent of them and not their slave. But the later Epicureans became more or less the votaries of sensual pleasure. In Physics, Epicurus held the Atomic theory of Democritus. Everything, according to him (including the human soul), is made of atoms. Epicurus did not deny the existence of the gods: the gods may exist, he said; but they do not care for man and human affairs. For if they cared for man they would be unhappy and cease to be immortal! This was in a way a

trick to escape from the charge of downright atheism. In any case that is how he escaped condemnation! Epicurus began as a disciple of Xenocrates, the head of the Academic School of Plato, about 324 B.C. and became a teacher at Athens in 306 B.C.

P. 8, l. 17. *Libertine School of Cyrene*, The Cyrenaic School of Philosophy. This preached extreme Hedonism or love of pleasure. It was founded by Aristippus, who was born at *Cyrene* (hence the name *Cyrenaic*) a city of North Africa, about 428 B.C. He began as a disciple of Socrates. He taught that we should aim at gaining as much of the pleasurable and as little of the painful (bodily and mental) as possible; he was not really a sensualist though his philosophy tended to that end. As a matter of fact he believed that the "pleasant" coincided with the "good" so that in reality he condemned vice and praised self-control. He advocated that a man should adapt himself to his circumstances and extract the greatest possible enjoyment from them, while he was contented, because he limited his desires. After his death, his daughter Arete carried on his teaching.

P. 8, l. 18. *What the Cynic impudence uttered*, The word "cynic" is derived from the Greek word *Kyon*, *Kynos*, a dog. This philosophy is here described as *impudent* from its surly, austere, almost misanthropic nature: whence the name *cynic* i.e. *like a dog*. Diogenes, the founder of this philosophy was born at Sinope on the Black Sea about 412 B.C. but went to Athens for study. His youth is said to have been spent in dissolute extravagance, but coming under the influence of Antisthenes, he began to practise the utmost austerity of life and finally lived in a tub outside Athens. Alexander the Great is stated to have visited him. Like Antisthenes, Diogenes despised the arts and sciences, and all intellectual pursuits that did not tend to some immediate practical good. The Cyrenaic philosophy was not popular at Athens, which was the home of literature and the arts and these things were despised by the Cynics. Hence probably the name *Cynic* or Dog-like given to their philosophy and hence the "impudence" imputed to them here by Milton. The Cynics practised extreme austerity. We may say that the Stoics and the Epicureans take up a middle position. The lovers of an austere virtue are the Cynics at one extreme end, and the lovers of bodily pleasure are the Cyrenaics at the other extreme end.

* P. 8, l. 20. *Old Comedians*, (See note to *Vetus Comoedia* above) namely Aristophanes, Cratinus, Eupolis etc. Some forty-one of these Old Comedians are mentioned, but the work only of Aristophanes has come down, and even in his case, only a fraction of the work has survived.

P. 8, ll. 21-23. *Plato... Dionysius*, Plato (428 B.C. - 347 B.C.) the philosopher was the foremost disciple of Socrates and what is known of the philosophy of Socrates (who did not write a book) is known to us entirely from Plato's *Dialogues*, in which Socrates is the principal speaker. He was twenty years of age when he became a disciple of Socrates. After the death of Socrates in 399 B.C., he composed most of his *Dialogues*. He travelled to Cyrene, Egypt, Sicily, and the Greek states in Southern Italy. In Sicily for some time he made friendship with the tyrant Dionysius. But this did not last long. The tyrant disliked Plato's freedom of speech and there is a story told that Dionysius caused Plato on his return voyage to be attacked by pirates and sold into slavery. But he was bought by a friend whom he had known at Cyrene and set at liberty. [There is a similar story about Diogenes the Cynic being captured by pirates and sold as a slave at Corinth, where Alexander the Great is reported to have met him.] On his return to Athens, Plato set up his school of philosophy in the gymnasium of the Academy, whence his school came to be called the *Academy* or *Academic School*. There he taught without charging any fees. Twice again he went to Sicily. On one of these occasions it was to teach philosophy to the young Dionysius (son of the tyrant above referred to) and it is to this circumstance that Milton refers here. The younger Dionysius is the "royal scholar" here referred to. Plato was invited to Sicily by Dion, the step-uncle of Dionysius to teach his royal nephew. There is little authority for the statement that "Plato told Dionysius to study Aristophanes."

P. 8, l. 22. *Aristophanes*, See note to *Vetus Comoedia* above.

P. 8, l. 24. *Chrysostom*, Bishop of Constantinople (347-407 A.D.). He was surnamed Chrysostom or "of the golden mouth" from his great eloquence. The authority for Milton's statement that he "nightly studied" Aristophanes is rather doubtful. Gibbon states in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman*

Empire, V, 400-401 that it is said by Aldus Manutius (but upon what authority Gibbon does not know) that Chrysostom commonly slept with the comedies of Aristophanes under his pillow and that traces of his comic reading were said to be still visible in his homilies.

P. 9, l. 1. *Lacedaemon*, Sparta. Sparta or Lacedaemon was the capital of the district of Laconia and the chief town of Southern Greece. It was the greatest military power, as Athens was the greatest naval power in Greece.

P. 9, l. 2. *Lycurgus*, (born about 825 B.C.) was the great law-giver of Sparta and the moulder of the famous civil and military constitution of Sparta.

P. 9, ll. 3-4. *As to have been the first . . . Homer*, Plutarch, in his Life of Lycurgus relates that Lycurgus brought Homer's poems from Asia Minor and made them better known. Some two hundred years later, Solon, the Law-giver of Athens encouraged the study of the Homeric poems, while a century later Pisistratus, the first "tyrant" at Athens got the various portions of the Homeric poems re-arranged and the canon of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* established.

P. 9, l. 4. *Ionia*, The western half of the sea-board port of Asia Minor was called *Ionia*, because the whole coast line was studded with towns and islands colonized by Greeks of the Ionian race, mostly from Athens, Megara, Corinth etc.

P. 9, ll. 4-5. *The poet Thales*, This is an error for *Thaletas* who flourished about 620 B.C., several ages after Lycurgus. He is said to have purified Sparta with music when attacked by the plague. Plutarch dates the second epoch of Spartan music from Thaletas. [Not to be confounded with the philosopher *Thales* sometimes called the Father of Greek Philosophy.]

P. 9, l. 7. *Civility*, Refinement.

P. 9, l. 8. *Museless*, Without a liking for poetry, and all the graces and refinements of art and education.

P. 9, ll. 8-9. *Minding . . . of war*, Cf. Muller's *History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, from which Ruskin quotes a passage in *The Crown of Wild Olive*.

P. 9, ll. 10-11. *Laconic apothegms*, The district around Sparta was called Laconia, the natives of which were well-known for their love of brevity of speech. Hence the term

Laconic came to stand for *terse*. The word *apothegm*, or rather *apophthegm* (pronounced *apothem*) means a terse, sententious utterance. The expression "laconic apophthegm" therefore means "a brief, pointed, sententious remark."

P. 9, l. 11. *Chase Archilochus etc.*, Archilochus (about 700 B.C.) was a native of the island of Paros, a lyric poet, who is considered the inventor of the iambic measure and to whom Horace refers in his *Epodes*. The story is that one of the daughters of a certain Lycambes had been promised to him in marriage, but the match was broken and that in consequence he railed against the young lady's family with his lampoons in such swift iambic verses that out of shame the daughters of Lycambes committed suicide. Horace jokes about his losing his shield in battle, as Archilochus had done before him in the past. The Spartan sentiment went directly against losing one's shield in battle, and in illustration of it the well-known words of a Spartan mother to her soldier son are quoted: "Come back with your shield or *on your shield*", where the italicised words have reference to the Spartan custom of bringing home the dead body of a soldier *upon his shield*, which was used as a martial bier. Either due to this or some other circumstance (e.g. the family of Lycambes might have been related to the Spartans), the verses of Archilochus were forbidden at Sparta and Plutarch tells us that he was driven out of Sparta, to which Milton refers here.

P. 9, l. 12. *Composing in a higher strain etc.*, Writing his poetry in a nobler manner than the ballads etc. which were popular at Sparta.

P. 9, l. 13. *Roundels*, A song in which some parts come round again and are repeated.

P. 9, l. 14. *Broad verses*, Dissolute verses.

P. 9, l. 14. *They were not therein conversing*, Their caution against dissolute verse did not prevent them from being dissolute themselves in their behaviour.

P. 9, l. 16. *Conversing*, The verb *converse* and the noun *conversation* in their original Latin sense have reference to *social intercourse, association, or behaviour*. Milton uses the word in its Latin sense, meaning *social intercourse or behaviour*.

P. 9, ll. 16-17. *Whence Euripides unchaste*, In l. 590

of his tragedy called *Andromache*, Euripides writes "No Spartan girl could be modest even if she wished." This prejudice of the Athenian people against the Spartan women is due to two causes: (1) During the period of the great Athenian Drama, Athens and Sparta were engaged in a deadly war with each other, the great Peloponnesian War. (2) Secondly, the Athenians and most of the other Greeks, like the Persians, generally very rarely appeared in public with their women folk. The women dined by themselves and generally lived in apartments specially reserved for the use of the females in every house. To this extent the Greeks were like the oriental nations of their own time and neighbourhood. But the women of Sparta had more liberty than the other Greek women and played an important part in public life, though perhaps not so prominently as the women at Rome. But in any case, the Spartan women took part openly in public games, like running races and other gymnastics, which meant girding up their garments and for this they were ridiculed by the Athenians and other Greek nations and these neighbours considered it *immodest* on the part of the Spartan women to take part in sports. (The times are of course now vastly changed!) This is really the principal reason why Athenians like Euripides ran down the modesty of the Spartan women. On the other hand this was rather encouraged by the Spartan institutions, as Sparta's aim was that the Spartan women should be physically strong to be the mothers of a race of *soldiers*. Thirdly, we have to consider that Euripides was a *misogynist*, and had a poor opinion about women generally. As a general rule the Greek male had a poor opinion about the Greek female, and rarely cultivated social or intellectual intercourse with women, as he did with persons of his own sex. This quality the Aryan Greek of old shared in an equal measure with the Aryan Hindu of old, and was the leading feature of oriental civilisations and the Greek was the most oriental among the European races, and therefore probably he became the medium through which eastern civilisation reached Europe. It should be remarked that even the great philosopher Aristotle severely criticises the licentiousness and immodesty of the Spartan women, whom he accuses of having, during the invasion of the Thebans, caused more evil than the arms of the enemy. "Like

all martial races", says Aristotle, "the Lacedaemonians (i.e. Spartans) were governed by their wives, and to this circumstance many imperfections of their state might be traced'. (Aristotle : *Politics* II, 7).

P. 9, l. 16. *Andromache*, The title of a tragedy by Euripides on Andromache, the wife of Hector, the champion of Troy in the war of the *Iliad*. She is described in Book VI of the *Iliad* with her son Astyanax as coming to meet Hector and trying to dissuade him from battle and bidding him tender farewell when he rushed on to the fight. On the capture of Troy by the Greeks she was taken prisoner by the Greeks and carried away as a captive by Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, as described in Vergil's *Aeneid*, III.

P. 9, l. 18. *After what sort*, In what manner and to what extent.

P. 9, l. 19. *Lacedaemonian guise*, The Spartan fashion.

P. 9, l. 20. *Twelve Tables*, These were the ultimate source of Roman Law. They were compiled by the *Decemvirs*, or *Ten Commissioners* appointed for the purpose in 451 B.C. and who were invested with supreme authority at Rome for about three years from 451 to 449 B.C., when on account of their despotism they were expelled. Of these laws, they drew up ten tablets in 451 and two in 450. These were engraved on brass tablets and put up in the *Roman Forum* (or Market-Place), where trials were held. The laws were thus made public for all to see. The laws were harsh and gave little relief to the *Plebs* or the Common People of Rome, who had been agitating for equal social and political rights.

In the sentence Milton gives here, *viz.* "Knew of little learning but what their Twelve Tables . . . taught them", Milton refers to the fact that in very early times, the Roman citizen who aspired to distinction in the state had to begin his career by first making himself at home with the Roman Law, of which the Twelve Tables were the foundation.

P. 9, l. 20—P. 10, l. 1. *Pontific college*, College of the "pontifices" or pontiffs. The word *college* as used here means an association in which every member is a *colleague*, or member with equal status and authority as the rest. These were small groups or associations of persons with magisterial authority, especially

in ecclesiastical matters. Thus we have the college of pontiffs (or *pontifices*) in ancient Rome, the college of augurs etc. The word *college* (from *Latin* "lego" to choose or elect) was used, it would seem, because when a vacancy arose, the remaining *colleagues*, *chose* or *elected* by themselves a successor to the vacant place—another word used for this sort of election being *co-optation*. The "college of pontifices" at Rome consisted of *five members*, the highest among them being called *Pontifex Maximus* or Chief Pontiff. They were what we might call the bench of bishops at Rome and were in charge of the administrative system of the whole ecclesiastical system at Rome. In consequence, the *Pope*, who was originally the Bishop at Rome and successor to St. Peter came to be called *Pontifex Maximus* or Chief Pontiff, a title the Pope uses. Originally as the derivation of the word *Pontifex* (literally *bridge-maker*) shows, these *pontifices* were officers in charge of some religious ceremonies performed annually in connection with the bridge crossing the river Tiber, called the Sublician Bridge, originally a bridge of wooden planks across the river. Possibly these officers were first created for the purpose of supervising the building of the bridge. In any case, their duties beginning with this simple origin came to embrace the supervision of the whole religious system of Rome during the Republican Period. During the Period of Kingship, the King himself was probably the chief priest: later on the *Pontifex Maximus*.

P. 10, l. 1. *Augurs*, The College of Augurs at Rome consisted of from two to six members. These "Augurs" were the chief soothsayers at Rome and members of the highest social position in the state were appointed to this office, e.g. Quintus Mucius Scaevola, Laelius, the friend of the Younger Africanus and Cicero the great orator himself. These soothsayers interpreted the will of the gods by means of omens, the flight of birds, the cries of birds, thunder and lightning etc. As no great business could be done in the popular assemblies or elections held without consulting these omens, these augurs could indirectly exercise great political power in the state, as they could postpone meetings when they wanted on the ground of bad omens! The word *augur* is generally derived from the Latin *avis*, a bird.

P. 10, l. 1. *Flamens*, Priests in charge of the temples of the

principal deities at Rome. Chief among them were (1) the High Priest in charge of the temple of Jupiter (called *Flamen Dialis*), who, along with his wife, had to follow some special religious observances. (2) the Flamen Martialis, or the High Priest in charge of the Temple of the good Mars; and (3) the Flamen Quirinalis, or the High Priest in charge of the temple of *Quirinus* or the deified Romulus. These three High Priests enjoyed considerable revenues and persons of the noblest position in the state were elected to these priestly offices. It should be noted that there did not exist any *rigid* distinction between the clergy and the laity at Rome.

P. 10, l. 3. *Carneades*, (200 B.C.—130 B.C.) was a Platonist or Neoplatonist and founded a new school of Plato's philosophy at Athens, called the Third Academy. Carneades was a sceptic, a sort of philosopher who met every thesis with "It *may be so*, or it *may not be so*" and a very brilliant debater, but the doubt he raised about every proposition staggered a simple, blunt, plain-spoken soldier-philosopher like Cato the Censor. In 155 B.C., the three philosophers Carneades, Critolaus, and Diogenes were sent on a deputation to Rome by the city of Athens to plead against a fine of five hundred talents (a *talent* being roughly equal to £240 to £250) which Rome had imposed upon Athens. At Rome he gave lectures on Justice, disproving in the second lecture all he had proved in the first, as was the manner of the Greek *Sophists*. Hence Cato got the Roman Senate to banish these philosophers from Rome. It may be here observed that the chief principle of Carneades: "It may be so or it may not be so" has an accepted place in Jain Philosophy, where it is called *Syādvād* स्याद्वाद.

Critolaus, He was an Aristotelian, or follower of Aristotle's philosophy and the head of the Peripatetic school at Athens in his time. See note on *Carneades* above.

P. 10, l. 3. *Stoic Diogenes*, He must be distinguished from Diogenes the Cynic. (See note to *Carneades* above. He was then the leading Stoic at Athens).

P. 10, ll. 3-4. *Coming ambassadors to Rome*, That was in 155 B.C. See note to *Carneades* above.

P. 10, ll. 4-5. *To give the city*, i.e., to give to the people of Rome.

P. 10, ll. 5-6. *Suspected for seducers*, Cato honestly believed that these philosophers who could "make the weaker seem the better reason" were perverters of the truth and that their teachings would subvert the morals and manners of the Roman people.

P. 10, l. 6. *Cato the Censor*, (See note to *Carneades* above.) Marcus Porcius Cato (234 B.C.--149 B.C.) surnamed Cato the Censor or Cato Major. He fought in the Hannibalic War and was appointed Censor at Rome in 184 B.C. In this office he tried hard to oppose the new fashions of luxury and imitation of Greek fashions. He degraded men of high rank, in some cases for just reasons, but often for some trifling departure from his own code of simplicity and reserve. Beginning his career as an opponent of Greek learning, he is said in extreme old age to have learnt Greek and quoted Homer in his speeches in the Senate. In his old age he denounced war against Carthage—the war that ended in the extinction of Carthage—ending every speech with the words, "*Delenda est Carthago*" i.e. *Carthage must be destroyed*!

P. 10, ll. 6-7. *Who moved it*, Who brought forward a *motion*. This use of the *indefinite* "it" is common enough in Elizabethan English. Cf. Milton: *L'Allegro*, l. 33 "trip it".

P. 10, l. 8. *Attic babblers*, Athenian orators. For *babblers*, cf. Acts XVII, 18: "And some said, what will this babbler say?"

P. 10, l. 8. *Scipio and others*, etc. The reference is to the Younger Africanus and his friend Laelius. His name in full was Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor. Born in 185 B.C., he was the younger son of Aemilius Paullus, the Conqueror of Macedon and given in adoption to the son of the elder Scipio Africanus. He devoted himself to the study of literature and philosophy and formed intimate friendships with Polybius (the Greek historian of the Hannibalic War), Terence (the writer of comedies) and Lucilius (the writer of satires). But still greater was his friendship with Laelius, whose tastes and pursuits were so congenial to his own, that Cicero has immortalised Laelius in his treatise on *Friendship*, by giving it the title *Laelius sive de Amicitia*. Scipio served as a commander in Spain and afterwards in the last war against Carthage. He died in 129 B.C.

* P. 10, l. 9. *Withstood him*, Scipio Africanus, Laelius and the other younger nobles in the Roman Senate opposed Cato's attempts to abolish Greek learning at Rome.

P. 10, ll. 9-10. *His old Sabine austerity*. In his younger days, Cato had lived as a frugal farmer at his father's farm in the Sabine country. The word *austerity* has reference to Cato's attempts at suppressing the spread of luxury at Rome. He feared the Romans were getting effeminate and leaving their ancient martial spirit. The *Sabines* were proverbial for their frugal and simple ways of living. Cato wrote a treatise on Agriculture, the result of his practical experience as a farmer, called *De Re Rustica*.

P. 10, ll. 10-11. *The censor himself in his old age, etc.*, Refer to the note upon *Cato the Censor* above. Milton here refers to the fact that Cato having spent his middle age in opposing Greek learning took to the study of Greek Literature in his old age—a fact referred to by Cicero in his treatise on Old Age, which out of compliment to Cato the Censor he entitled *Cato Major sive de Senectute*. In this treatise of Cicero, Cato and the younger Africanus are speakers, the work being, as in all the philosophical treatises of Cicero, in dialogue form, and in the dialogue, Cicero makes Cato speak with pride about his study of Greek in his old age, as a proof that Old Age does not blunt intellectual powers. He took to the study of Greek at the age of eighty!

P. 10, ll. 12-14. *And yet at the same . . . Philemon*, Milton here refers to a matter, which is a matter of fact, viz. that the Latin Comedy was essentially a borrowing or imitation of the Greek masters of comedy like Menander and Philemon. The comedies of Menander, Philemon and other Greek masters [the writers of the *New Comedy*, which was a *comedy of manners*—*Vide* previous comments upon *Vetus Comedia* and *Aristophanes*] have perished but they live in the adaptations which Plautus and Terence made in Latin of the works of these Greek comedians. Twenty comedies of Plautus and six comedies of Terence have survived.

P. 10, l. 16. *Naevius*, A Roman poet born between 274 B.C. and 264 B.C. He produced his first play in 235 B.C. He was a plebeian and attacked Scipio and the Metelli in his plays, but A. 8.

was indicted by Quintus Metellus and thrown into prison, where he wrote two plays, (*Harriolus* and *Leon*) recanting his previous imputations and was released from prison. He wrote an epic on the first Punic War in the ancient Latin metre, called Saturnian Verse, based on accent, rather than on quantity. He died at Utica in 202 B.C. None of his works has survived.

P. 10, l. 13. *Plautus*, (254 B.C.—184 B.C.) the most celebrated comic poet of Rome first came to Rome in the service of actors, and was for some time employed in the service of a baker, who made him turn a handmill. Twenty of his comedies have survived. His plays are more humorous than those of Terence, his great contemporary, but both wrote on the model of existing Greek comedies to which they gave a Latin dress. But as Plautus and Terence imitated the Greeks, they in their turn have been imitated by English, French and other European poets since the Renaissance. Molière the French comedian imitated them, so also Shakespeare (Cf. *Comedy of Errors*), Fletcher, Dryden, etc. Plautus in particular has found more imitators than Terence.

P. 10, l. 14. *Menander and Philemon*. These were writers of the *New Comedy* of Greece, which was a *Comedy of Manners*. Menander (342 B.C.—291 B.C.) excelled in love stories and was clever in his character-drawing. Plautus imitated three of his comedies, and Terence too imitated him. Only a few scattered fragments of his work have survived. Philemon (born 360 B.C.) was like Menander a native of Athens. He began writing the *New Comedy* a little earlier than Menander, but is next in fame to him.

P. 10, l. 15. *There also*, i.e., also at Rome.

P. 10, ll. 16-17. *Naevius was quickly cast . . . pen*. Refer to note to *Naevius* above. Naevius attacked persons like Scipio and the Metelli. His "unbridled pen" was punished by his being imprisoned at the instance of Q. Metellus. A few odd lines of Naevius which have survived show his satirical nature.

P. 10, ll. 17-18. *Released . . . recantation*, Refer to note to *Naevius* above.

P. 10, l. 18. *Recantation*, Naevius's "recantation" did not last long. He took to his old ways again and went into exile at Utica where he wrote his epic and died in 202 B.C.

P. 10, ll. 18-19. *Libels were burnt Augustus*, Tacitus, the Roman historian, tells us in the first book of his *Annales* that the emperor Augustus was the first to take notice of libellous writings and punish them under Sulla's Law against Treason, taking measures against Cassius Severus. As a matter of fact a section of the Eighth of the Twelve Tables (the fountain-source of Roman Law) had taken cognisance of libels.

P. 10, ll. 21-22. *Except in these two points*, Namely except in the matter of (1) libels, and (2) impiety or blasphemy towards the gods.

P. 10, l. 23. *Kept no reckoning*, Paid no attention.

P. 10, ll. 23-25. *Lucretius Memmius*, Milton means to state that Lucretius could publish with impunity his version of the Philosophy of Epicurus. His book was not suppressed; he was perfectly free to publish his thoughts.

P. 10, l. 23. *Lucretius*, (*Vide* Tennyson's poem on Lucretius) T. Lucretius Carus (99 B.C.-55 B.C.) the author of the philosophical poem *De Rerum Natura* (*On the Nature of Things*), considered the greatest *didactic poem* in the world, in which he expounds the philosophy of Epicurus. The poem is written in six books, in powerful hexameter verse, which seems to have been well conned and pondered over by Vergil to achieve his own mastery of the hexameter. The poem is addressed to a friend of the poet, named Memmius. In his account of the origin of the world, Lucretius adopts the atomic theory of Epicurus, which was itself based on that of Leucippus and Democritus. Lucretius may be considered as the first "Saint of Rationalism" in the sense in which that title is given to John Stuart Mill. He held that there is nothing in the world which cannot be explained without a belief in the interposition of divine beings. The poem was intended to liberate men from the fear of the gods and of death. The abstruse character of the poem is relieved every now and then with magnificent outbursts of poetry, as splendid as anything else in Latin poetry. Lucretius belonged to an aristocratic Roman family. It is said that he was driven mad by a love potion, that during his lucid intervals he composed several works which were revised by Cicero, and that he committed suicide. But no other work except the *De*

Natura Rerum has come down to posterity. Mr. St. John (*Milton's Prose Works*: Bohn Edition) remarks:—"Lucretius is, perhaps, the only poet inspired by materialism. It was not likely, however, that he should be disturbed in the promulgation of Epicureanism in a country where senators hesitated not to express the same opinions before the great council of the nation, as was done by Caesar in the debates on the Catilinarian conspiracy."

P. 10, l. 24. *Versifies*, Because Lucretius's work though dealing with philosophy is a poem in hexameter verse.

P. 10, l. 24. *Epicurism*, The philosophy of Epicurus. *Vide* note to Epicurus.

P. 10, l. 24. *Memmius*, (*Vide* note to Lucretius) Lucretius's poem is dedicated to Memmius. C. Memmius Gemellus rose to high office in the Roman State and became praetor in 58 B.C. He belonged to the party of nobles in the Senate (the *Senatorial Party*—which also seems to have represented the political opinions of the poet Lucretius) and to have opposed the democrats led by Publius Clodius and Julius Caesar, whom he attacked in invectives. He seems to have made his peace with Caesar, but was shortly after impeached and lived in exile at Mytilene in the island of Lesbos.

P. 10, ll. 25-26. *Had the honour . . . Cicero* i.e. had the honour to have his work edited and published again a second time. There is really no authority for this statement, except a distorted application of a remark made by Saint Jerome about Lucretius's verses, *viz.* that they were worthy of Cicero's file." [*Tulli lima dignissimis*], which might mean that the verses had Cicero's polish, but was taken to imply that Cicero edited the poem. In any case there is no explicit authority for Milton's expression *set forth a second time*. Jerome's statement, (if it means that Cicero had a hand in it at all), would seem to indicate that Cicero *first* edited the poem. As a matter of fact Cicero's *Letters* throw no light on the subject, though in a letter to his brother, Cicero refers to the art and inspiration of the poem. There is no evidence to show that Cicero at all edited Lucretius's poem. What evidence there is, is of a contrary nature, because Cicero was entirely opposed to the Epicurean Philosophy.

. P. 10, l. 26. *So great a father of the commonwealth*, The title of *Pater patriae* (the father of his country) was conferred by the Senate on Cicero for his suppression of the revolutionary conspiracy of Catilina in 63 B.C.

P. 11, l. 2. *Lucilius*, (148 B.C.-103 B.C.) Generally considered the founder of Roman Satire. In Horace's time he was much admired, but as a satirist his work was superseded by that of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius. His satires have come down only in a fragmentary form. There are some eight hundred of these fragments.

P. 11, l. 2. *Catullus*, (87 B.C.-47 B.C.) was a lyricist who wrote in various metres, famous among which are his love poems to Lesbia, sister of Publius Clodius. One of his famous poems is his elegy on the death of his brother (*Frater ave atque vale*) and another describing his country-seat on the promontory of Sirmio has been immortalized by a poem of Tennyson. He possessed a more spontaneous vein of poetry than Horace, but seems to have been a licentious man and wrecked his paternal fortune.

P. 11, l. 2. *Flaccus*, i.e. Horace, whose full name was Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65 B.C.-8 B.C.), the friend of Vergil and the great statesman Maecenas, as also of the emperor, Augustus. He was a satirist and lyricist. His various works consist of the *Epodes*, *Satires*, *Odes* (four books) and *Epistles*. One of the most important of the Latin poets, his works have been read in every public school and college since the Renaissance and many of his witty lines have passed into current quotation. The character of the cultured English Gentleman has been largely moulded by Horace's poems. Most of his poems are written in an easy conversational style, but the *Odes* are more ornate and give Horace his claim to the rank of a great lyrical poet. They are written in different stanzas borrowed from the Greek. But it must be admitted that in spite of the exquisite finish and polish of his *Odes*, he has not the fire or the inspiration of Catullus.

P. 11, l. 3. *The story of Titus Livius*, *The History of Titus Livius*. The word *story* is derived from the Latin word *Historia*.

P. 11, l. 3. *Titus Livius* (59 B.C.-17 A.D.), The great Roman

Historian was born at Patavium on the Po in North Italy. His literary talents secured him the patronage and friendship of Augustus. The great work of Livy (*Livius*) is a History of Rome from the foundation of the city to the death of Drusus in 9 B.C. But of its 142 books, only about 35 have descended to us. These include the first ten books which bring the history of Rome down to 294 B.C., the third decade dealing with the Second Punic War and containing his most impressive work, the fourth decade and half of the fifth, the latter fifteen books containing an account of Roman conquests in Greece and Asia Minor. Livy is a very eloquent, patriotic and conservative writer. His love of republicanism did not come in the way of his friendship with the Emperor Augustus.

P. 11, ll. 3-5. *Though it extolled . . . of the other faction*, Augustus, it is true, *did not suppress* any part of the History of Livy dealing with the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar (49 B.C.-45 B.C.), but unfortunately, the lapse of time has suppressed, what the emperor did not. Only a brief Epitome of this part of Livy's History has come down to us, the books themselves dealing with the Civil Wars are lost. Livy naturally, as a conservative and a republican, must have had his sympathies on the side of Pompey the Great, who posed in the Civil War as a champion of the Roman Senate against Julius Caesar, who had defied the orders of the Senate and marched from Gaul into Italy at the head of his army. When Caesar crossed the Rubicon into Italy proper, the Civil War began. The emperor Augustus, as the nephew of Julius Caesar, would naturally have his sympathies with Caesar. Livy's sympathies were on the opposite side, and yet, says Milton, Augustus did not take any steps to suppress Livy's History.

P. 11, l. 4. *That part which Pompey held*, The party of Pompey i.e. the Senatorial Party. (*Part* is used in the way in which the Latin word *pars* is used.)

P. 11, l. 4. *Pompey*, Cn. Pompeius Magnus (106 B.C.-48 B.C.) was a great Roman general who had obtained victories in Spain, Cilicia, Mesopotamia and Armenia, the last against Mithridates of Pontus. At one time Pompey and Caesar were friends and had formed a coalition against the Senate in 59 B.C. and the friendship had been cemented by Pompey marrying a daughter

of Julius Caesar. But on her death, an estrangement between son-in-law and father-in-law began and Pompey came to be looked upon as the champion of the Senate against Caesar, who defeated Pompey and the senatorial forces at Parsalia (48 B.C.), after which Pompey tried to reach Egypt but was killed by treachery just when about to land at Alexandria. He earned the title or surname of *Magnus* (i.e. the Great) by reason of his great victories.

P. 11, l. 5. *Octavius Caesar* (63 B.C.-14 A.D.), The emperor Augustus. His name originally was Caius Octavius, being the son of Caius Octavius and Julia, the aunt of Julius Caesar. By his adoption as heir by his grand-uncle, Julius Caesar, he became Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus. The title of Augustus was conferred upon him by the Senate in 27 B.C. After the assassination of Julius Caesar, Octavian gradually came to the front and formed a triumvirate (or Government of Three) with Mark Anthony and Lepidus. Mark Anthony married his sister Octavia, but became infatuated with Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. The Roman Civil Wars ended after the battle of Actium, where Anthony and Cleopatra were defeated and all real power fell into the hands of Octavian, who with the title of Augustus governed the vast Roman Empire under a nominal republican form. With him begins the Imperial Period of Roman History. Augustus was a patron of Livy, Vergil, Horace and other authors. Literature flourished in his reign and the term Augustan Age is applied to this great period of Latin Literature, and is also applied to other great periods of literature in other nations, e.g. the Augustan Age of English Literature, a term sometimes applied to the Age of Queen Anne, when Pope and Addison flourished.

P. 11, l. 5. *The other factors*, Here used in a neutral sense of *party*, but usually used in a contemptuous way.

P. 11, ll. 5-6. *But that Naso was etc.*, But the fact that Naso was banished was a covert etc.

P. 11, l. 6. *Naso*, Publius Ovidius Naso, familiarly called Ovid (43 B.C.-18 A.D.). He belonged to a knightly family, and studied law, but took to poetry. He divorced his first two wives but was tenderly attached to the third. He seems to have figured in many love intrigues and his early poems were of a

licentious character, such as *Amores* (*Loves*) ; *Ars Amatoria*, (*The Art of Love*) etc. His serious work consisted of *Fasti* (a poem in six books dealing with the feasts, legends etc. of the Roman calendar), the *Metamorphoses* in sixteen books dealing with Transformations described in Greek and Roman Mythology, mostly dealing with love scenes, such as Daphne changed into the Laurel Tree etc. After his banishment, (*Vide* notes below), he wrote tearful poems pleading for his recall (*Tristia*) and *Letters from Pontus*, and the *Heroides*, which are Love Letters written by the heroes and heroines (mostly the heroines) of Greek Mythology to their wives or husbands, lovers or sweet-hearts.

P. 11, ll. 6-7. *For the wanton poems of youth*, The lascivious early poems of Ovid, such as the *Amores*, the *Art of Love* etc. referred to in the above note.

P. 11, ll. 7-8. *Was but a mere covert . . . cause*, Ovid was banished by Augustus, in 9 A.D. to a cold barren place called Tomi, north of the Black Sea, a land full of wild and barbarous Scythian tribes. Ovid longed to return again to the warmer and healthier climate of Italy and pleaded hard in his *Tristia* to be restored to Rome. Here he expresses his love for his wife (his third wife) from whom he was so suddenly and forcibly removed. He died in exile in 18 A.D.—a long exile of seventeen years till death. The reason alleged for his deportation was given out to be the indecency of his early poetry. But some hidden political cause was suspected to have led to his banishment, which he does not explicitly disclose in his *Tristia*. But the general opinion is that he was an eye-witness to, or had played a part in some outrageous love affair of Augustus's daughter, Julia. The emperor had passed laws to encourage marriage and put down adultery, but his only child and daughter Julia (by his first wife Sribonia) who had been thrice married (her last husband being the future emperor Tiberius, the emperor's step-son) was a licentious woman, notorious for her adulteries ; and the emperor's daughter seemed to have done her best to break down the emperor's laws. It is believed that Ovid was suspected to have some guilty knowledge of one of these amours of Julia and was therefore sent into banishment. The actual cause of his banishment has never been fully cleared up.

- P. 11, l. 6. *In his old age*, Ovid was 52 years of age at his banishment.

P. 11, ll. 8-9. *Covert of state*, A mere state pretext.

P. 11, ll. 8-9. *Besides the books called in*, Though the reason given out for the banishment of Ovid was that he was the author of licentious poems, the licentious poems themselves—the *Amores* and the *Ars Amatoria*—were never suppressed or called back from circulation.

P. 11, ll. 9-11. *From hence we silenced*, After the reign of Augustus, there was a good deal of despotism in the Roman Empire and we should not be surprised if good books were suppressed more often than bad ones. "The fiercely persecuting spirit of the emperors soon taught the Romans the difference between a free and a tyrannical government" [St. John].

P. 11, ll. 10-11. *That we may not marvel*, Tacitus gives many such instances, and especially in *Annales* IV, we have the most striking account of the persecution of Cremutius Cordus, who had written a history of Brutus and Cassius.

P. 11, l. 12. *Large enough*, Copious enough. [In the MS. the word *enough* is spelt *anough*, an old form. Other old forms are *ynough*, *enow*, etc.]

P. 11, ll. 12-13. *In producing to write*, In expounding the writing of what books was punishable in Greece and Rome.

P. 11, ll. 13-14. *Save only treat on*, Except these classes (they have been described above in two classes—viz. (1) libels and (2) blasphemous writings) it was open to anybody to write on any other subjects.

P. 11, l. 15. *The emperors were become Christians*, The first Christian emperor of the Roman empire was Constantine the Great (reigned from 306-337 A.D.). He became a Christian about 312 A.D.

P. 11, l. 18. *Heretics*, The word came to mean the holders of views which were not orthodox. But originally the word meant: "those who chose their own doctrines". (Greek *hairetikos* = able to choose.)

P. 11, l. 19. *The general councils*, Many such General Councils of the Church were held, the first being that held at Nicæa in Bithynia in 325 A.D. They were called *General* or *Oecumenical* to distinguish them from *provincial* councils. .

P. 11, l. 23. *Porphyrius* (or Porphyry), 223-305 A.D., was successively a pupil of Origen, of Apollonius, of Longinus, and of Plotinus and like the last was an ardent Neoplatonist. His treatise against Christianity called forth replies from thirty different opponents including Eusebius. This book was ordered to be publicly destroyed by fire by order of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great.

P. 11, l. 23. *Proclus* (412-485 A.D.), born at Byzantium, was another Neoplatonist. His vivid imagination made him think that he had direct intercommunion with the gods. The mystical and the occult were to him the only source of true philosophy. He controverted the Christian Doctrine of the origin of the world, as he held that what is produced is contained in what produces it, and emerging from it finally returns to it. Of an impulsive piety and anxious to make converts from Christianity itself, he made himself obnoxious to the Christian authorities in Athens, who banished him. Allowed to return, he acted with more prudence.

P. 11, ll. 24-25. *About 400 A.D. in the Carthaginian Council*, The fourth council of Carthage met in 398 A.D. It prohibited the reading of pagan literature; even bishops were forbidden to read pagan authors. It just began the era of bigotry and ignorance which was to engulf Christian Europe.

P. 11, l. 266. *Gentiles*, Pagans; those who are not Jews,—and hence those who are not Christians.

P. 11, l. 26. *Heresies*, i.e. Sectarian views in the fold of Christianity itself.

P. 12, l. 2. *Scrupled more Gentiles*, While long before that, formerly it was the heretical writings that had been forbidden, not the pagan classics. Notice the peculiar expression "scrupled more the books etc.", where "scrupled" is used as a transitive verb. In Elizabethan English many verbs now strictly *intransitive* were used transitively: cf. Milton's *Lycidas*: "walked the waves." But the latter instance in Milton may rather be explained as an instance of the *cognate object*. In any case here *scrupled* = scrupled against; objected to.

P. 12, ll. 4-5. *Passing no further*, Advancing no further; not going beyond. *Pass* and *Pace* are different forms of the same word.

- P. 12, l. 6. *Lay by*, Lay aside ; reject.

P. 12, ll. 6-7. *Padre Paolo* (1552-1623 A.D.), was the monastic name of Pietro Sarpi, who was born at Venice. Though a monk, he became a champion of Venice in resisting the authority of the Pope over the civil government of Venice. He wrote a *History of the Council of Trent*, which was translated into English by Nathaniel Brent in 1620. Sarpi laid bare the different intrigues connected with the protracted session of that Council. The passage referred to by Milton in the present context is a part of Sarpi's History giving a discussion in the Council on the subject of the Index Expurgatorius, or the List of Books to be expurgated, in which discussion Sarpi himself had played a part and his own discourse is given in the book. Sarpi's opinion, as quoted by Milton here, is to the effect that it was only after 800 A.D. that the suppression of so-called objectionable books really began.

P. 12, l. 7. *Unmasker*, This word is used because Sarpi exposed the intrigues and outside pressure on the session of the Council.

P. 12, l. 7. *Trentine Council*, Council of Trent, also called *Tridentine Council*, from the Latin name *Tridentum* for Trent. This *General* or *Oecumenical* Council of the Roman Catholic Church, sat, with considerable intervals, at Trent in the Tyrol from 1545 to 1563. It was called really to decide on the issue of Protestantism. This Council settled in a coherent form the doctrines of the Catholic Church in opposition to those of the Reformation. Its decisions are the recognised Roman Catholic authority in matters of faith and discipline.

P. 12, l. 8. *The Popes of Rome*, The title of *Pope* was originally given to all bishops. "It was confined to the prelates of Rome by the order of Phocas, Emperor of the East, at the instance of Boniface II, 606 A.D." [J. W. Hales' note.]

P. 12, l. 8. *Engrossing*, (Literally buying up wholesale, the whole supply of a particular commodity), Monopolizing.

P. 12, ll. 8-9. *Engrossing . . . hands*, The continual expansion of the political power of the Popes was subject to rise and fall, but in the 11th and 12th centuries it was at its height when Hildebrand (Pope George the Great) forced the Emperor Henry IV to make his submission to him. But it began with

Pope Nicholas I (858-867 A.D.) who asserted the supremacy of the Roman curia and forced Lothaire, King of Lorraine to restore her rights to his divorced wife, Thietberga. Nicholas II forced Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, to become his vassal. Frederick Barbarossa (the Emperor Frederick I), 1123-1190, had also to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope in order to maintain his hold over Lombardy and the German princes. He died fighting in the Crusades.

P. 12, ll. 9-10. *Extending their . . . men's eyes etc.*, i.e. they would not allow people even to see such books, in addition to the fact that they were already leading (or misleading) men's judgments.

P. 12, ll. 11-12. *What they fancied not*, What they disliked.

P. 12, l. 12. *Yet sparing etc.*, However even they used some restraint in passing their judgments.

P. 12, ll. 12-13. *And the books . . . dealt with*, And the number of books they thus condemned was small.

P. 12, l. 13. *Martin V*, He was Pope from 1417-1421. He belonged to the great Colonna family of Rome. He was elected Pope during the session of the Council of Constance, over the rest of which he presided. The papal bull here referred to belongs to 1425. But the editor of the *Areopagitica* in the Temple Series observes that Milton is in error here, as Martin's bull did not refer to the reading of the writings of Wycliffe and Huss.

P. 12, l. 13. *Bull*, (Latin *bullā*, a seal) Papal decree, so called from the *bullā*, or wax seal attached.

P. 12, l. 15. *Excommunicated the reading*, Excommunicated those who read.

P. 12, l. 16. *Wycliffe*, John Wycliffe (1320-1384), called the Morning Star of the Reformation sent his followers (called the Lollards) to preach among the common peasants in English and distribute among them copies of portions of his own English translation of the Bible. By an Act passed by the British Parliament in the reign of Henry IV, in 1405 (*De Hereticis Comburendis*, "About the Burning of Heretics," the Church was authorized to burn these poor heretics at the stake. Sir John Oldcastle, the original of Shakespeare's Sir John Falstaff, was

thus burnt at the stake. Wycliffe was a student and afterwards Master of a college at Oxford.

P. 12, l. 16. *Huss*, John Huss (1373-1415) was a Bohemian preacher of Reformation, and a contemporary of Wycliffe. The Hussite movement was based on Wycliffe's movement, and the works of Huss in their turn largely influenced Luther. Huss was convicted of heresy by the Council of Constance (1414-1418) and burnt at the stake. After his death, his followers, the Hussites, revolted against the emperor, under the leadership of Zisca.

P. 12, ll. 16-17. *Were they who first etc.*, Became the cause for driving the court of the Pope to a stricter policy of forbidding books.

P. 12, l. 18. *Which course (Latinism)*, Note Milton's trick of beginning a new sentence with a Relative Pronoun used conjunctively. It is common in Latin. "Which course" = "And this course."

P. 12, l. 18. *Leo X*, Giovanni de Medici was Pope from 1513-1521. His project for rebuilding St. Peter's at Rome led to the sale of Indulgences, which provoked Luther's Reformation. He was the patron of Michael Angelo and Raphael. He was also a patron of learning and founded a Greek college in Rome and established a Greek press.

P. 12, l. 19. *The Council of Trent*, See note to *Trentine Council* above.

P. 12, l. 21. *Catalogues and expurgating indexes*, Lists of books prohibited and ordered to be burned or expurgated. The *Index Expurgatorius* was a list of books which were not to be published without expurgations. It was first made by the Inquisitors in Italy and approved by the Council of Trent in 1559. It was at this point that Sarpi urged there was no suppression of books till 800 A.D. Besides the *Index Expurgatorius*, there was a Catalogue of prohibited books, called the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Milton wittily stigmatises the *Index Expurgatorius* as a *New Purgatory of an Index*.

P. 12, l. 25. *Not to their palate*, Not to their liking.

P. 12, ll. 25-26. *Condemned in a prohibition*, Condemned by listing it in the Index of Prohibited Books and ordered it to be burned.

P. 12, l. 26. *Purgatory*, The Catholic belief was that the souls of good men who lived before Christ, and of unbaptised children after Christ, as also of those Christians who were not good enough for heaven, had to wait in a place called Purgatory undergoing purification, till they were good enough to enter heaven.

P. 13, ll. 2-3. *As if St. Peter . . . Paradise*, Milton cannot avoid a sarcasm. The Pope at Rome as succeeding to the line of St. Peter was supposed to hold the Keys of Heaven. None could enter except through his blessing. Christ is described in the *New Testament* as having built his church "on this rock" i.e. on his disciple *Peter*, the word *petra* also meaning *rock* or *stone*. Hence arose the myth about St. Peter holding the keys of Heaven, to which Milton refers in *Lycidas* and on which Ruskin makes an eloquent comment in *Sesame and Lilies*. Milton does not consider the Popes at Rome as the true spiritual successors of St. Peter. On the heraldic arms of the Pope, these keys are represented.

P. 13, l. 3. *Also out of Paradise*, Perhaps we should prefer to say "also, as of Paradise."

P. 13, l. 5. *Glutton friars*, Gluttonous friars. Gluttony seems to have become their leading character, though the friars began as mendicant priests.

P. 13, l. 9. *Vicar*, This word literally meant a priest who acted in place of another priest, and contains the root idea we have in the word *viceroi*, where it is an officer or governor, who acts for a King.

P. 13, l. 11. *Athwart*, Across i.e. at variance with.

P. 13, l. 11. *Good manners*, Good morals.

P. 13, l. 15. *Davanzati* (1529-1606), was born at Florence. He wrote several books, among them a translation of Tacitus. His translation was said to be more terse than the original, Tacitus having the reputation of being the tersest and most epigrammatic among the masters of Latin prose. The book referred to here is his *Schism in England* (i.e. a History of the Reformation in England) printed at Florence in 1638, while Milton was in Italy, and it must have attracted his notice. On the last page the licensing certificate of Vincent Rabatta etc. is quoted.

P. 13, l. 20. *He of the bottomless pit*, Satan.

P. 13, l. 20. *Have a conceit*, Have a notion; imagine.

P. 13, l. 21. *Had not . . . prison*, Had not escaped from Hell and come to trouble people on earth.

P. 13, ll. 21-22. *This quadruple . . . down*, These four signatories would drive away Satan and prevent him from doing mischief through this book. The metaphor is natural, as the licensing was done by priests, who were also supposed to have the power to drive away evil spirits. The *quadruple exorcism* refers to the four signatures licensing the book, viz. those of Vincent Rabatta, Nicolo Cini, Vincent Rabatta (again) and Friar Simon, described above.

P. 13, ll. 23-24. *The licensing of that . . . Claudius intended*, Claudius was the fourth Roman Emperor. He reigned from 41 to 54 A.D., and was the husband of the profligate Messalina (his third wife) and afterwards of Agrippina, who poisoned him, that her son by her previous husband (viz. Nero) might succeed to the throne, as he did. During Claudius's reign the conquest of Britain was nearly completed. Suetonius, in his *Lives of the Caesars* reports that Claudius once thought of giving a licence to his guests to break wind at the banquet-table! It is therefore a rather coarse joke that Milton makes here!

P. 13, l. 24. *Went not . . . with*, He never actually passed such a licensing decree!

P. 13, l. 25. *Another of their forms the Romans stamp*, i.e. another of their forms as printed at Rome. The construction is rather loose, the expression *the Roman stamp* having an adjectival force, i.e. *with the official Roman stamp*. *Stampa* in Italian means *printing press*, and *stampato* means *printed*.

P. 13, l. 26. *Imprimatur*, The word *Imprimatur* is Latin and means: "let it be printed". Thus the word *Imprimatur* came to be used in the sense of a *sanction* or *licence* for printing a book. Books on religious subjects of an orthodox nature are never printed in Catholic countries without this *Imprimatur*, which is generally printed in the beginning of the book, often on the title-page.

P. 14, l.^o 2. *Dialogue-wise*, i.e. arranged in pairs, as if one person (i.e. licenser) were speaking to another!

P. 14, l. 2. *Piazza*, Open space or market-place in a city. The German *Platz* and the English *place* are connected in origin with this Italian word and with the Greek *Plateia*. Here it means the broad expanse of the title-page.

P. 14, ll. 2-3. *Complimenting . . . reverences*, Complimenting each other and making bows to each other with their shaven heads. The Catholic priests are *tonsured*, i.e. on the crown of their head, a small patch is clean shaven. *Ducking* etc. is bending down their tonsured heads while bowing to each other. *Reverence* in French and Italian means a *bow*. For *ducking*, cf. Milton's *Comus*, ll. 960-961: "Here be without duck or nod. Other trippings to be trod." The language used by Milton is very vigorous and makes mockery of the priests.

P. 14, l. 5. *The sponge* (or *spunge*), i.e. to be wiped out or destroyed or expunged.

P. 14, l. 6. *Responsories*, Parts of the service in church that contains *responses*, i.e. the congregation giving responses to questions asked by the priest.

P. 14, l. 6. *Antiphonies*, Answering voices. It is a Greek word having nearly the same meaning as *response*, which is Latin. An *antiphon* consisted of verses alternately chanted. The word *anthem* is a corruption of *antiphon*.

P. 14, l. 7. *Bewitched . . . Prelates*, Used to charm our English bishops so recently. Milton is writing this as a Puritan and he is thinking of Archbishop Laud and bishops of the Anglican Church.

P. 14, ll. 7-8. *Besotted . . . Imprimatur*, And fuddled our minds so much that we thought the licensing system was quite the proper thing.

P. 14, ll. 9-10. *Lambeth House*, The residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

P. 14, l. 10. *West end of Paul's* i.e. the residence of the Bishop of London, which, according to Mr. J. W. Halls, once lay in the precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral, close to the Church. But Mason thinks the reference is here to *Stationers' Hall*, the office of the guild of publishers. The Stationers' Company were at enmity with Milton for reprinting his first pamphlet on Divorce without license or even applying to the Stationers' Company, and they had complained to Parliament about it. Under an

Edict of the Star-Chamber Court, publishers were required to submit books to be printed for examination by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Chaplain, the judges and other officials. But new licensers were appointed under the ordinance of 1643 and the burden still remained with the Stationers' Company. It seems therefore likely that the reference may be to the Stationers' Hall.'

P. 14, ll. 10-11. *So apishly Romanising*, Following the methods of the Roman Church in such an apish manner.

P. 14, ll. 11-12. *The word . . . Latin*, viz : the Latin word "Imprimatur" ("let it be printed") was used.

P. 14, ll. 12-13. *As if the learned . . . without Latin*, This is of course sarcastic, and suggesting that the licensers were ashamed to use their mother tongue. While the Catholics still conduct their church services in Latin, it was a point with the Protestants to have prayers etc. in the mother tongue.

P. 14, l. 15. *The pure conceit of an Imprimatur*, (Cf. the expression "lordly Imprimatur" used above.) The unmitigated arrogance of these licensers.

P. 14, l. 16. *For that our English*, Because our English.

P. 14, ll. 16-17. *The language of men ever . . . liberty*, Cf. Wordsworth's lines in his famous sonnet :—

"We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake, the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held."

P. 14, ll. 17-19. *Will not easily . . . English*, The English language does not possess such degraded terms of servility which might enable the arrogance of these dictators to assert itself.

P. 14, l. 18. *Dictatory*, Dictatorial.

P. 14, ll. 18-19. *Spell . . . English*, Express their dictatorial arrogance in English terms, since the English people and the English language are not servile enough to put up with it.

P. 14, l. 21. *Ripped up*, Exposed ; laid bare.

P. 14, l. 21-P. 15, l. 1. *Drawn as . . . pedigree*, Their descent from the tyranny of the Inquisition has been shown step by step.

P. 15, l. 1. *We have it not, that can be heard of etc.*, This licensing does not descend to us (so far as it can be made out) from the customs or constitution of any ancient or modern state,

city or church system from abroad, or from any of our English constitutions; but it comes to us entirely from the despotic authorities of the Inquisition and the Council of Trent.

P. 15, l. 2. *Polity*, (from Greek *polis*, a city) Government of a city; hence a government or constitution of a state.

P. 15, ll. 2-3. *Nor by any statute . . . or later*, It is not derived from any precedent English constitutions of earlier or later times.

P. 15, l. 5. *The most anti-Christian council*, The Council of Trent, above referred to. See also note to *Padre Paolo* above.

P. 15, l. 7. *As any other birth*, As any thing else that is born in this world. The word *birth* is used in a concrete sense on the analogy of the Latin equivalent *partus*, which means *birth*, the act or process of being born, or any thing born. The word *parturition* (from *Parturio*) is a desiderative word coined from *partus* (from *Pario*).

P. 15, ll. 9-10. *No envious Juno . . . offspring*, Milton expresses his idea very beautifully and yet forcibly by reference to classical mythology. One of the functions of Juno was that of the goddess of Birth. Mothers about to give birth to a child prayed to Juno for aid. But when Hercules was about to be born—he being the son of Alcmena by Jupiter,—Juno showed her jealousy against Alcmena by obstructing the birth of the child, as she hated Alcmena and the child to be born, Hercules. She sat cross-legged at the door, muttering spells. One of Alcmena's maid-servants, seeing these obstructive tactics, deceived her falsely reporting that the mother's pains were over. At this Juno was startled, changed her posture and at once Hercules was born. Mr. J. W. Hales quotes several passages to illustrate the fact that sitting cross-legged or with the fingers of the two hands interlocked ("digitis inter se pectine iunctis", with the fingers crossed in the form of a comb, as Ovid reports was the manner of Juno's sitting at the birth of Hercules in his *Metamorphoses* IX, 297-301) was considered a bad omen. He cites passages from Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* V, 234-9 and Pliny's *Natural History*.

P. 15, ll. 9-10. *But if it proved a monster*, But if the newly born book really contained monstrous ideas. [From time to

time, it has sometimes happened that a woman gives birth to what is considered a *monstrosity* not a normal human child,—which evolutionists can easily explain upon their principles. But in the early history of mankind, a child so born would be exposed to die or drowned.]

P. 15, ll. 12-13. *In worse condition than a peccant soul.* In a worse plight than that of a sinful human soul when it appears to answer for his sins before God's judgment seat.

P. 15, l. 13. *Jury,* i.e. here the licensers.

P. 15, ll. 13-14. *Ere it be born to the world,* Before it is published. The suggestion is that till actual publication, the book is more or less in the mind only—has a sort of spiritual existence—just as Plato and others held that before a human being is born, his soul has a spiritual existence—or an antenatal existence. Shelley has given a partial expression to this idea in *The Sensitive Plant*.

P. 15, l. 14. *Yet in darkness,* While it has not yet seen the light of day; while it is still in darkness (as in the case of the fœtus in the mother's body).

P. 15, l. 15. *Rhadamanth and his colleagues,* Rhadamanthus was one of the three judges in Hades or the Lower World, before whom the souls of the dead were brought for trial. The three judges were Minos, King of Crete (son of Jupiter by Europa), his brother Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus, King of Attica (son of Jupiter by Aegina). These men while alive were renowned in Greece for their justice and piety and therefore after their death, they were made judges in Hades. [Here the word is applied to the licensers.]

P. 15, l. 15. *The ferry,* The ferry across the Styx (river of Hades) where the souls of the dead were led across by Charon, the ferryman.

P. 15, ll. 16-17. *That mysterious iniquity,* The Catholic Church. In *Revelation* XVII, 3-5, we have a description of the woman "arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold... Upon her forehead was a name written, *Mystery*, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots etc." The early Protestants identified this *Scarlet woman of Babylon* with the Roman Catholic Church of Papacy. The term Vice or Iniquity was often

used for Satan in the Mystery and Morality plays, who thus ultimately became the Clown of the regular comedy.

P. 15, l. 18. *New limbos*, The Latin word *Limbus* (originally the border of a robe) was used for the borderland of Heli. the same as Purgatory, in which the souls of unbaptized infants and the spirits of all good men before the advent of Christ were supposed to dwell, purifying themselves of sin and waiting for the general Resurrection. The *Index Expurgatorius* is compared to this sort of *limbo*, the books having to submit to an *expurgation*. (Many subdivisions of this Limbo were made, the limbo of infants, the limbo for the souls of the good men of the heathen world, like Socrates and Cicero, *which strictly is Purgatory*, the limbo of the fathers of the church who waited for Resurrection to be admitted to heaven, and the limbo of fools—or fools' paradise. This fools' paradise was generally placed in the moon, but Milton placed it in Hell, *Paradise Lost* III, and described the friars and hermits as being driven by a stormy wind into the Paradise of Fools. Generally, *limbo* is a milder form of Hell, and the term was sometimes used for Hell itself.)

P. 15, l. 18. *Ill-favouredly*, In such a foul manner.

— P. 15, l. 22. *Inquisiturient*. Milton has coined this word on the analogy of *Desiderative* Verbs in Latin, e.g., from *esum* (to eat), came *esurio* (I desire to eat; I am hungry) from *scriptum* (to write) came *scripturio*, (I desire to write). These verbs end in *urio* and their present participle ends in *uriens* (or *urient*). Hence *Inquisiturient* is one who desires to be *inquisitive*, i.e. one who desires to be an *Inquisitor*.

P. 15, l. 22. *Minorites*. The *Minorites*, in the strict sense, were the Franciscan friars or Grey friars. They called themselves: *Minores fratres* or Lesser Brothers, in contradistinction to the *Monks* who called themselves *Patres* or Fathers. But the word was then loosely used of *all friars*. The word comes from the Latin: *Minores*, the lesser men. These would be naturally *lesser* men than the bishops, whom they assisted in their Inquisition work. But Milton uses the word sarcastically of the lesser clergymen who assisted the Bishops in their Inquisitional and Licensing tasks.

P. 15, ll. 23-29. *That ye like not . . . clear you readily*, A typical periodic sentence and therefore the less intelligible, as

reversing the natural order of words in English. Milton begins with two *noun clauses*, with their qualifying adjuncts and ends with the predicate *clear* upon which they depend—"All men who know the integrity of your actions and how you honour truth will clear you (i.e. will readily excuse you), *believing* that you don't like these authors of the licensing order and that you had no sinister intention, when you were urged to pass these orders."

P. 15, ll. 23-24. *These most certain authors*. These men who *definitely* are the authors of the licensing system. The word *certain* is used in its Latin sense of *definite, fixed, indubitable*, etc.

P. 16, l. 2. *It may so*. It may be so.

P. 16, l. 3. *Yet if that thing . . . invention*. If the subject matter of the invention is an obvious commonplace thing, and if nevertheless all wise men have deliberately avoided it and if only false tyrants have resorted to it, just to hinder the reformation, it will be a hard task for any chemist to extract the good out of the evil in such an invention.

P. 16, l. 9. *Alchemy*, note the spelling. From the *word* and the *science* it denoted come both the *name* and the science of Chemistry. It is an Arabic word, consisting of *Al*, the Arabic article (= *the*) and Greek : *Chymos*, a juice. The aim of the Alchemist (who was a predecessor of the modern chemist) was to transmute base metals into gold. But in this search the alchemists made many discoveries and laid the foundations of modern chemistry. In the Middle Ages, alchemy, astrology, magic etc. were all considered as *Black Art*. Still there were many alchemists, though not a few of them were rogues. (*Vide* : Ben Jonson's play : *The Alchemist* and the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.)

P. 16, l. 10. *Lullius*. Raymond Lully was born at Palma, capital of the Majorca island in 1235. His system known as *Ars Lulliana* (Lully's Art) was celebrated from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. He died in 1314 or 1315, according to some authorities, of wounds received in fight with the Moors of North Africa,—others say he was stoned to death by the Mahomedans in Morocco. He was famous for his knowledge of medicine and chemistry.

P. 16, l. 10. *Sublimate*, (A term used in Alchemy) Extract by vaporisation.

P. 16, ll. 11-12. *From this reason*, From this argument.

P. 16, l. 13. *For the tree that bore it*, On account of the tree on which it has grown and ripened--i.e. on account of the fact that it is a product of the Inquisition. Notice *for*— on account of ; considering.

P. 16, ll. 13-14. *Until . . . has*, Until each of its qualities is separately examined.

P. 16, ll. 14-17. *But I have first . . . proceeds*, Milton passes on in the next paragraph to consider the case for general reading--of any sort of books whatsoever and secondly whether there is more of advantage or disadvantage in doing so. Cf. Para. 5, where Milton outlines the plan of his work : he there set forth four points he was going to consider.

P. 16, ll. 16-17. *Whether be more the benefit, etc.*, i.e. whether the benefit be more or the harm, etc.

P. 16, l. 18. *Moses*, He is the legislator of the Jews, whom he freed from their bondage to Egypt. He lived about 200 B.C. He was brought up by an Egyptian princess and naturally knew much of the Egyptian learning.

P. 16, l. 18. *Daniel*, A Jewish prophet about the time of the Babylonian captivity. One of the books in the Old Testament is named after him. He lived about 600 B.C. and was carried a captive to Babylon, where he must have learnt some of the Chaldaean mysteries.

P. 16, l. 19. *Paul*, St. Paul, (originally Saul of Tarsus) organized the Christian Church. At first a persecutor of the Christians, he was converted after a miracle in which he had a vision of the crucified Christ. He decided to preach Christianity to non-Hebrews and is therefore called the *Apostle of the Gentiles*. Daniel having lived long in Babylon might have learnt something of the Chaldaean mysteries, Moses of the Egyptian mysteries and St. Paul a good deal of the Greek learning, as he wrote his Epistles in Greek and the use of the Greek language was universal in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia in his time. But it is open to doubt whether his learning was so extensive as Milton makes it out here.

P. 16, l. 18—P. 17, l. 7. *Not to insist overcome us*, This is a terribly long and complicated sentence. The general sense is :—"If I may not insist on the examples of Moses, Daniel and Paul (who were skilful in Egyptian, Chaldaean and Greek learning respectively,—for Paul quotes three Greek poets) it was doubted sometimes by the early fathers of the Church whether such learning was profitable—but the odds were in favour of the view that it was profitable,—as was shown when Julian tried to forbid the Christians the Greek learning, for he feared the Christians defeated the pagans with their own weapons and learning."

P. 16, l. 21. *In Paul especially*, This was especially so in the case of Paul.

P. 16, l. 23. *Sentences*, Sayings ; saws ; aphorisms.

P. 16, l. 24. *Of three Greek Poets*, These are (1) The Cretan Epimenides (in *Epistle to Titus*, I, 12) ; (2) the poet Aratus (in Acts, XVII, 23) and Euripides (or according to others, Menander) in 1, *Corinthians*, XV, 33. The sentences quoted are (1) "The Cretans are liars" ; (2) "For we are also his offspring" ; and (3) "Evil communications corrupt good manners." Epimenides was a Greek poet and priest, of whom it was said that he lived 299 years ! He was himself a Cretan and lived in the seventh century B.C. Aratus was a Greek poet of Soli in Cilicia about 270 B.C., and wrote a poem on Astronomy.

P. 16, ll. 23-24. *One of them a tragedian*, viz. Euripides.

P. 17, l. 1. *Controverted*, Disputed ; discussed.

P. 17, l. 2. *Odds*, Advantage ; superiority.

P. 17, ll. 3-4. *Julian the Apostate*, Flavius Claudius Julianus, nephew to Constantine the Great was Emperor from 361 to 363 A.D. He was brought up as a Christian, but on accession to the throne declared himself a pagan and tried to revive the old pagan religion. He was killed in battle with the Persians. The title *Apostate* given to him is a Greek word meaning "deserter". Gibbon says the edict (which Milton refers to here) is still extant among the epistles of Julian. Julian prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric. He observed that the Christians exalted the merit of implicit faith (i.e. in Christ) and were therefore unfit to enjoy the advantages of science and he contended that if the Christians refused

to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in their Churches.

P. 17, l. 4. *Made a decree*, Cf : the latter part of the above, note.

P. 17, l. 5. *Heathen learning*, Greek and Roman learning, Greek especially.

P. 17, ll. 6-7. *They would . . . overcome us*, He forbade Greek learning to the Christians because he was afraid they used Greek logic and rhetoric to get the better of the pagans in argument and spread their religion and he wanted to prevent this.

P. 17, l. 8. *Put so to their shifts*, Put so much into difficulty.

P. 17, l. 10. *The two Apollinarii*, These were father and son, both from Alexandria. The son was Bishop of Alexandria. In consequence of Julianus's Edict, these men produced their Christian imitations of Homer, Pindar, Euripides, and Menander in the form of a Sacred History in twenty-four books.

P. 17, l. 11. *The seven liberal sciences* : These included two branches of educational subjects, (1) the *trivium* (Three Paths) and (2) the *quadrivium* (Four Paths). The *Trivium* consisted of Grammar, Logic or Dialectic and Rhetoric ; the *Quadrivium* of Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy.

P. 17, l. 14. *The historian Socrates*, Not Socrates the philosopher, but a historian of that name in the fifth century A.D. who wrote a *History of the Christian Church* from 306 A.D. to 439 A.D. It was a continuation of the Church History of Eusebius, which came down to the year 306 A.D.

P. 17, ll. 16-17. *By taking . . . devised it*, Julian's edict came to an end after his death. *Jovian* succeeded Julian as Emperor and revoked Julian's decree and proclaimed religious toleration throughout the empire.

P. 17, l. 20. *The emperors Decius and Diocletian*, These two emperors who reigned from 249 to 251 A.D. and from 284 to 305 A.D. respectively were notorious for their persecution of the Christians. Diocletian's persecution reached its climax in 303 A.D. After a reign of twenty-one years, Diocletian abdicated in 305 A.D. and devoted himself to philosophic reflections and gardening. He died in 313 A.D.

P. 17, ll. 20-22. *And perhaps . . . reading Cicero*. St. Jerome (345-420 A.D.) was one of the most learned and eloquent of the Latin Fathers of the Church. He was a great student of Greek and Latin rhetoric and philosophy before he was baptized. He wrote commentaries on the Bible and made a revision of former translations. The sentence, "perhaps it was with the same political drifts, etc." is loose in construction, because a *dream about the devil beating anybody* cannot be a political *drift*. "What Milton means is that the story about two dreams (viz. a devil beating Jerome for reading Cicero) might have been the result of some "political drift" by which Milton means a tendency of a devilish diplomacy to undermine the Church by depriving of classical learning, as Julian had attempted. However Jerome maintained that he was quite positive that the angels really whipped him and it was not a mere dream. Milton is inclined to take the story either (1) as a dream brought on by fasting, or (2) a delirium in fever. Jerome maintained it was not an ordinary dream because after the vision he found himself beaten black and blue, which had never happened to him in a former dream. (A rationalist of to-day might suggest that in a dream by rolling about on his couch he might have bruised himself in several places, without the aid of a spirit to whip him!). Jerome relates the occurrence to the nun Eustochius. (See Jerome's Epistles to the Nun Eustochius, Epistle No. 18). The letter was written in 384 A.D. Jerome thought himself in a dream or vision being brought before the tribunal of Heaven. In answer to a question of what profession he was, he replies that he was a Christian. "Thou liest", cried the judge, "thou art a Ciceronian, for the works of that author possess thy heart". Thereupon the judge condemned him to be severely scourged by the angels. Jerome himself writes that he was feverish and was reduced by fasting and that it was in the middle of Lent. The period of Lent covers the six weeks before Easter and pious Catholics "fast" during the period, avoiding flesh meats.

Milton substitutes the *devil* for *angels*. He does not think that any *angel* could whip anybody for reading Cicero, but the *devil* might.

P. 17, l. 24. *For had an angel been, etc.* Milton now gives his reason for thinking it was *not an angel*, but, a devil that

whipped Jerome.

P. 17, l. 24. *Displiner*, Punisher.

P. 17, ll. 24-25. *Unless Ciceronianisms*, Unless indeed the angel came to punish him for his vanity in imitating the style of Cicero. In the renaissance especially the great scholars made it a great point to be able to write Ciceronian prose, which was considered the acme of perfection in prose style. Any Latin construction not used by Cicero was looked upon as ungrammatical!

P. 17, ll. 24-25. *Had chastised the reading, etc.* If really an angel had chastised his reading of Cicero, and not merely his vanity in writing like Cicero, that angel would really have been guilty of a partial judgment, for Jerome had also been reading scurrilous Plautus, and he deserved to be whipped for reading Plautus more than for reading Cicero!

P. 17, l. 26. *Scurril Plautus*, Milton uses the word *scurril* for *scurrilous*, and both these words he takes in the sense of coarse, obscene or scandalous. In his letters to the nun Eustochium, Jerome states that on account of sleeplessness after fasting he often read Plautus to amuse himself. Plautus's comedies are rather coarse compared with those of Terence, but they are more lively and spirited. The original meaning of *scurril* is "like a parasite or flatterer" from Latin *scurra*, a parasite.

P. 18, l. 1. *Next to correct him only, etc.* The next argument used by Milton runs thus:—Why should the angel whip Jerome for reading Cicero, when many other pious Churchmen before Jerome had indulged in the reading of the classics, without getting whipped for it? If St. Basil could read Margites, why may not one read Morgante?

P. 18, l. 4. *Basil*, Basil was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (south of the Black Sea) from 370 to 379 A.D.

P. 18, ll. 5-6. *Margites Homer*, The *Margites* was an obscure poem, now lost, once attributed to Homer. Aristotle in his *Poetics* attributes it to Homer, so also Plato. In his *Poetics*, IV, Aristotle remarks that the *Margites* bears the same relation to comedy that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* bear to tragedy". Besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, some other small poems were attributed to Homer such as (1) the *Batrachomyomachia* (or battle of the Frogs and Mice), a mock-heroic poem, (2) the

Margites (of which only one or two lines have survived : " Many things he could do, but badly he could do them all", and (3) the so-called Homeric Hymns. Modern critics are not prepared to attribute them to the same author as the *Iliad*, and moreover since 1795, when Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824) in his *Prologomena ad Homerum* propounded the theory that the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* are composed of numerous ballads by different minstrels, strung together by subsequent editors, modern criticism has seriously questioned whether there ever existed a Homer at all !

P. 18, l. 7. *Morgante*, *Morgante Maggiore*, an Italian poem by the Renaissance poet Luigi Pulci. An account of it is given in Hallam's *Literature of Europe* I, 270-273. It is regarded as the prototype of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, and described as being full of broad, coarse humour, and it is on that account that Milton refers to it here.

P. 18, l. 7. *Much to the same purpose*, i.e. *Morgante* also is a humorous burlesque like the *Margites*.

P. 18, l. 10. *Eusebius*, (264-340 A.D.). One of the Fathers of the Church, born in Palestine and bishop of Caesarea in 315 A.D. He was thus a much earlier father of the Church than Jerome. He wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* of the Church.

P. 18, l. 10. *Ancienter*, This form of the comparative now appears odd. M. J. W. Hales quotes examples of such odd comparatives and superlatives from Ascham, Bacon (who uses *ancienter*) Fuller and Sidney. Among the moderns Carlyle has used forms like *beautifuller* and *beautifullest*. In a modern author like Carlyle, this becomes only a mannerism.

P. 18, l. 11. *Eustochium*, (See note to *Jerome*) This is the name of a *nun*, but the form of the word appears *neuter*. Mr. Cotterill remarks, " It was not unusual for women, especially slaves and the like to have Greek (or Latinized) *neuter* names."

P. 18, l. 11. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, Bishop of Alexandria from 247 to 265 A.D.

P. 18, ll. 14-15. *Had wont to avail himself much against heretics*, (We would say *was wont*, besides the word *avail* is used in an archaic sense) was accustomed to launch powerful attacks upon heretics. "Avail" literally means "to be of value,

or *service*, or *force*". In modern English with the Reflexive object (oneself, himself etc.) followed by the preposition *of*, it means "to take the benefit of" or "profit oneself by". This is not the meaning here : here the meaning is "he was of value or service or force against heretics."

P. 18, l. 15. *By being conversant in their books*, Because he was well versed in heretical literature.

P. 18, l. 16. *Laid . . . conscience*, Raised a conscientious objection against his practice of reading heretical books.

P. 18, l. 20. *It is his own epistle etc.*, The epistle of Dionysius here referred to is given in the 7th book of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*.

P. 18, l. 18. *Loth to give offence*, Not desiring to give offence to anybody. "Offence" is literally "*striking* or *stumbling* against a thing."

P. 18, l. 22. *Sufficient to*, competent to.

P. 18, ll. 24-25. *Was answerable to*, Agreed with.

P. 18, l. 25. *That of the apostle to the Thessalonians*, The Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. The reference is to the *First Epistle to the Thessalonians*, V, 21, where St. Paul says : "Prove all things ; hold fast that which is good."

"*Prove all things etc.*" See note above. The Greek word (which is here translated by "prove") means *test*, or *make trial of*.

P. 19, l. 2. "*To the pure all things are pure*", One of the greatest utterances of St. Paul Cf. *Epistle of Paul to Titus*, I, 15.

P. 19, l. 3. *Not only meats and drinks etc.*, This is Milton's comment, meaning that this *purity* does not apply merely to food and drink (about which the Jews were rather fastidious) but also to knowledge.

P. 19, l. 6. *Viands*, Victuals. There is not much difference between *meats* and *viands*, though *meats* would apply more to *flesh* food.

P. 19, l. 6. *Unapocryphal*, Authentic ; undoubted. The *apocrypha* are those parts which have no room in the regular "canon" of Holy Scriptures, the authenticity of which is open to question. We may also use the term of any writing which does not form a part of the acknowledged "canon" of an

author's work but is attributed to him on doubtful authority e.g. *Edward III may be ranked among the Apocrypha of Shakespeare*, but does not fall in the regular Shakespeare canon. As examples of the *Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, we may mention *Tobit*, *Judith*, *The History of Susanna* etc.

P. 19, ll. 6-7. *In that unapocryphal vision etc.*, See Acts X. 9-16.

P. 19, l. 7. *Rise, Peter; Kill, and eat*, See Acts X, 13. St. Peter was hungry and fell in a trance, and in that trance he had a vision in which he saw a great vessel let down to the earth, on which were all manner of beasts and he was asked to kill and eat them.

P. 19, l. 11. *Naughty mind*, A mind that is good for nothing (literally, *naughty*=of naught i.e. worth nothing. Mr. Hales cites *naughty figs* in *Jeremiah*, XXIV, 3.

P. 19, ll. 11-12. *Are not...evil*, A bad man would apply the *best* books to the *worst* purposes.

P. 19, l. 13. *Concoction*, Digestion. (Cf : *Paradise Lost*, V, 412, "concoct, digest, assimilate.")

P. 19, ll. 15-16. *Serve in many respects...illustrate*, This is the leading principle of the whole discourse of the *Areopagitica*. Dr. Johnson considered the argument discussed in the *Areopagitica* to be difficult of solution. But Mitford in his *Life of Milton* observes that "when a nation becomes sufficiently enlightened to demand the removal of those restrictions of the press, which have been imposed when governments were arbitrary, and the people ignorant, the correction of the evils which are attendant on its liberty, must be found, not in the punishment of the offenders, but in the good sense and moral feeling of the community."

P. 19, l. 19. *Mr. Selden*, (1584-1654) was then a member of the Long Parliament, representing Oxford University. He was a great jurist and, along with John Pym and Hampden, a leading champion of liberty against the Stuarts. His *Table Talk* composed by his Secretary and published in 1689 is most famous, but he wrote on diverse subjects, such as his *History of Tithes*, *Title of Honour*, *De Jure Naturali* (1640) etc. It is to the last mentioned "work of Selden—the full title of which is *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* (On the Law

of *Nature and of Nations in connection with the Discipline of the Jews*—that Milton refers here. Milton had also referred to this book in one of his pamphlets on *Divorce*. It is interesting to note that after the publication of Milton's four pamphlets on *Divorce*, Selden published *Uxor Ebraica*, (*The Jew Wife*), being a treatise on the Hebrew law of Marriage and Divorce. After the execution of King Charles I, which Selden disapproved, he took little part in politics.

P. 19, ll. 19-20. *Volume of natural and national laws*, Refer to note on Selden above.

P. 19, l. 21. *Exquisite*, (Used in the *Latin* sense) Carefully sought out (from Latin *quaero*, I seek).

P. 19, l. 22. *Theorems*, Theories; speculation.

P. 19, l. 22. *Mathematically demonstrative*, Mathematically demonstrated (or demonstrable).

P. 19, l. 23. *Collated*, Compared; brought together for comparison.

P. 20, ll. 1-2. *When God did . . . body*, This refers to the vision of Peter in Acts X, 9-16, above referred to.

P. 20, ll. 2-3. *Saving . . . temperance*, Always avoiding the danger of excess. Cf : *Paradise Lost*, XI, 530-38.

P. 20, l. 3. *Left arbitrary*, Left to our own arbitration or choice.

P. 20, l. 4. *Repasting*, (Cf : *Hamlet* : IV, 5, 148 : "*Repast them with my blood.*") Feasting.

P. 20, l. 5. *His own leading capacity*, His own guidance.

P. 20, ll. 5-6. *How great a virtue etc.*, Temperance was one of the great cardinal virtues. Spenser made *Temperance* the subject matter of the second book of the *Faerie Queen* with Sir Guyon as the champion of Temperance.

P. 20, l. 9. *Demeanour*, Management; conduct (in the *active* sense).

P. 20, l. 10. *Tabled the Jews from heaven*, Gave to the Jews from heaven their laws. This refers to the Mosaic Law, which according to the Old Testament, God gave to Moses from heaven. They were kept in the sanctuary of the ark. The word *tabled* refers to the *tablets* on which the laws were inscribed. Cf : the Roman Laws of the TWELVE TABLES.

P. 20, l. 11. *Omer*, (See *Exodus* XVI, 18.) It is a measure mentioned only once in the Bible, estimated at about a half to one gallon. It must not be confounded with *homer* (*Leviticus* XXVII), another measure, several times mentioned in the Bible, and much larger, equal to about 75 gallons.

P. 20, l. 11. *Manna*, See *Exodus* XVI, 14-15. It is described as something like dew or hoar-frost upon which the "children of Israel" led by Moses through the desert were fed by God, when they were starving. The term is generally used of something mysterious, but the word is often used of anything very sweet: hence the expression "sweet as manna". Everyone of the followers of Moses was given one *omer* of this food. They were told to eat it, not keep it for the next day. Some who stored it found it had bred worms and Moses got angry with them.

P. 20, ll. 13-14. *Those actions which enter into a man etc.*, Compare *Matthew* XV, 11, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out of his mouth, this defileth a man."

P. 20, l. 15. *God uses not to captivate prescription*, It is not God's way to keep a man fettered under strict commands as if he were for all time a child.

P. 20, ll. 17-20. *There were but exhortation*, If man had no free will to choose and guide himself by his reason and if law and compulsion should take the place of persuasion, there would be no scope left for preaching at all.

P. 20, l. 20. *Solomon*, Son of David and Bethsabe. He succeeded David as King of the Jews. He is described as very wise and wealthy and magnificent in his buildings. His alliance with Hiram of Tyre, the chief of the Phœnicians, was really the secret of his wealth. The books of *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* in the *Old Testament* are believed by the orthodox to have been written by him.

P. 20, ll. 20-21. *Much reading flesh*, See *Ecclesiastes* XIII, 12. In Baxter's *Dying thoughts*, (pp. 106-109: *Sacred Classics* edition) there is a fine commentary on this text, which holds that the quest of knowledge is often a vanity purchased at great cost. Baxter reflects that when he dies he must leave not only his friends and sensual pleasures, but his studies,

knowledge, and converse with many wise and godly men and all his reading and the exercises of religion. He must leave his library and turn over pleasant books no more etc., etc.

P. 21, ll. 1-2. *As for the burning . . . converts*, (See Acts XIX). It is related that when St. Paul visited Ephesus, the sons of a Jewish high priest, though not followers of Christ, began in the names of Christ and Paul to cast out evil spirits from men who were possessed. But a certain man possessed by the evil spirit leaped on them and rough-handled them; upon which many persons who had "practised curious arts" (i.e. magic) brought together their books of magic and burnt them in the presence of all. (Acts XIX, 19.) The price of the books thus burnt was fifty thousand pieces of silver.

P. 21, ll. 2-3. *The Syriac so renders them*, i.e. the Syriac version of the Testament represents they were books of magic.

P. 21, ll. 3-4. *It was . . . imitation*. This burning of books was *not* enforced by Paul or any other authority. It was purely a matter done at the free will of the persons concerned.

P. 21, ll. 5-6. *The magistrated . . . appointed*, This particular incident in the Bible does not mean that any magistrate is authorized by the Bible for performing any such function (*viz.* the burning of books). [Milton means this passage in the Bible cannot be quoted to justify the burning of books they disliked by church licensors.]

P. 21, ll. 6-7. *Practised the books*, Carried out into actual practice (or put into operation) the charms etc. described in the books.

P. 21, l. 8. *Good and evil etc.*, (Very beautiful passage this!) Good and evil are intimately intermingled: the knowledge of good involves the knowledge of evil. Good resembles evil in many ways, and *vice versa*. This mixture is more difficult to sort out than the labour set before Psyche.

P. 21, l. 13. *Psyche*, The allusion is to the story of Psyche and Eros (= Cupid) in Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* IV-VI. Eros (= Cupid) fell in love with Psyche (= the Mind or the Human Soul). The mother of Eros (i.e. Aphrodite or Venus) was angry at this and tormented Psyche in many ways. She tore her clothes, pulled her by the hair, shook her by the head

and grievously maltreated her. Finally she made a mixture of wheat, barley, millet, poppy, vetches, lentils, and beans and made her to sort out the seeds into separate heaps. Psyche sat stupefied over the task. Just then a tiny ant came to her rescue. The ant summoned the whole tribe of ants and the different seeds were sorted out into different heaps, and the ants then vanished away. But on her return, Venus only abused Psyche all the more and said her lover (Eros) must have done it! This story is an episode in *The Golden Ass* and is told by an old woman in a thieves' den. Apuleius lived about 150 A.D.

P. 21, ll. 14-17. *It was from out . . . into the world*, Adam and Eve ate of the fruit of the Forbidden Tree—the tree of the *Knowledge of good and of evil*—thus both good and evil resulted at one and the same operation. (See *Genesis* III, 5-13; also Milton's *Paradise Lost*, IV and IX.)

P. 21, l. 17. *That doom*, See *Genesis* II, 17. The Lord said to Adam that "in the moment that he ate of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, he would surely die." *Doom* is judgment.

P. 21, ll. 18-19. *That is to say, of knowing good by evil*, This is Milton's ingenious comment on God's injunction. Adam suffered *death* not because he *tasted* of good, or had knowledge of good, but because *he had knowledge of good through evil*. [Various questions would arise on this problem into which we need not go; but a pertinent query is: how could poor Adam understand the meaning of the word *death*—"that moment thou shalt die," for as yet he had *no experience of death*. One cannot understand a thing of which there is *no previous experience*. As yet there was no death on earth, and still less would Adam understand the refined doctrine of *death eternal*. As yet he was the only human being on earth: even Eve was not born, when this dread injunction was given to Adam. For here we are at *Genesis* II, 17 and Eve's birth is recorded in *Genesis* II, 21-22! If the *sanction* of the law or command, is not fully understood by the offender, he has a just claim to forgiveness. Adam ought to have been forgiven, but instead of that not only Adam, but *all his descendants* have inherited the punishment! That is the sort of deity against which

Shelley's *Prometheus* inveighs.]

P. 21, l. 21. *Can there be to choose*, Can there be in choosing.

P. 21, ll. 19-22. *What wisdom . . . evil?* We cannot show any wisdom in making a choice and we cannot show true patience in suffering, without the knowledge of evil.

P. 22, l. 3. *Yet abstain, yet distinguish, and yet prefer.* Note the rhetorical repetition of *yet*, giving an emphasis to each clause,—a device common in Cicero's speeches.

P. 22, l. 4. *Warfaring Christian*, The original edition of 1644 reads "*Wayfaring Christian*", the later editions have *warfaring*, and it is clear that Milton meant *warfaring* or militant Christian, a Christian who gives battle to evil. If he must give battle to evil, he must *know evil*. The adjective *wayfaring* would support the idea underlying Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, but Bunyan wrote that book in 1678 i.e. 34 years later. The famous sentence that follows makes it clear that Milton meant *warfaring*.

P. 22, ll. 4-5. *I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue etc.*, This is one of the most memorable passages in Milton's *Areopagitica*,—one of the few passages in the book worth committing to memory.

P. 22, l. 5. *Fugitive*, That which takes to flight in presence of evil; cowardly.

P. 12, l. 5. *Unexercised*, A virtue that has not exercised herself in contest with evil.

P. 22, l. 5. *Cloistered*, That dwells only in the cloisters of a college or monastery.

P. 22, l. 5. *And unbreathed*, A virtue whose powers of endurance have not been yet tried, or perhaps, a virtue that has not learned to keep up its breath for a courageous charge.

P. 22, ll. 7-8. *Slinks out of the race . . . heat*, Metaphor of the *running* or *chariot race* in the Olympic and other games famous in Greek Society.

P. 22, l. 7. *That immortal garland*, The crown of victory. It was very often an "olive crown" or a wreath of palm leaves. The word *that* is used as in Latin, meaning "that famous".

P. 22, l. 8. *Not without dust and heat*, The chariot race naturally raised a lot of dust, to which Horace refers in the first poem of his *Odes*, Book III, viz. "Sunt quos curriculo etc. etc." There are men, says Horace, whose delight it is to raise the Olympic dust with their chariots, and who having just cleared the mile-stones with their steaming wheels are exalted to heaven as the lords of the earth by the victorious garland."

P. 22, l. 8. *Assuredly we bring not etc.*, A reference to the Christian doctrine of Original Sin: *every man is born a sinner*.

P. 22, ll. 10-11. *That which purifies contrary*, Purification from our sins can come only by trial (i.e. resistance against temptation) and a successful trial is not possible without knowledge of evil.

P. 22, l. 11. *But a youngling*, Quite inexperienced.

P. 22, ll. 13-14. *Is but a blank virtue, not a pure*, It is a neutral, colourless virtue, —it is not the pure substance of virtue. [Milton in writing this passage, says St. John, had in his mind the description of a perfect judge in Plato's *Republic*. Plato says that judge is best who is an old man, who by long observance of the conduct of others, has obtained *a thorough knowledge of vice and injustice*, without ever allowing the slightest taint of either to appear on his own soul.]

P. 22, ll. 14-15. *Excremental whiteness*, A *superficial*, not an essential whiteness. *White* is an emblem of *purity*, and supposed to be the colour of purity: hence a bride is generally dressed in white and carries a bouquet of *white* flowers, of *lilies* especially, another emblem of purity. "Excrement" is "ex-crescence" or an "outgrowth". Shakespeare uses the word of *hair* etc. in *Winter's Tale* IV, iv, 733, *Comedy of Errors* II, ii, 79; *As You Like It*, etc.

P. 22, ll. 15-16. *Our sage and serious poet Spenser*, In the Preface to Dryden's *Fables*, Dryden tells us that Milton had told him that "Spenser was his original." Edmund Spenser (1552-1599) was the leading poet of the Elizabethan Age. He wrote *The Shepherd's Calendar*, 1579; *The Faerie Queene* (1590 and 1596) and several other poems, as also a collection of Sonnets, called *Amoretti*. Milton refers here to the *Faerie Queene*.

P. 22, ll. 16-17. *Whom I dare Aquinas*, Spenser was a moral poet. His *Faerie Queene* is a moral and political allegory, but essentially moral. The hero of each book of the *Faerie Queene* (which was expected to run into twelve books, but of which only six and a fraction of a seventh were completed) is the champion and representative of some virtue. Milton therefore says that Spenser was a better teacher of virtue than the great moralists and philosophers, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas.

P. 22, l. 17. *Scotus*, Duns Scotus (1265-1308) the celebrated English Franciscan and schoolman. He was reputed to be one of the subtlest logicians going. Yet it is an irony of fate that the name *Duns* has given birth to the English word *Dunce*!

P. 22, l. 17. *Aquinas*, Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) called the Angelical Doctor. He was one of the greatest of the schoolmen i.e. writers on medieval theology and metaphysics.

P. 22, ll. 17-18. *True Guion*, The subject of Book II of the *Faerie Queene* is the virtue of Temperance. The leading knight or champion of Temperance (and therefore the hero of Book II) is Sir Guyon. He is exposed to many temptations (the Cave of Mammon, the Bower of Acrasia etc.) but he battles with and rises superior to them. In the final canto of the poem, Prince Arthur (who symbolised *Magnificence*) comes to his rescue.

P. 22, l. 18. *With his palmer*, Sir Guyon is introduced as attended by his guide, who was a palmer, or pilgrim from the Holy Land. He stands for prudence.

P. 22, l. 19. *The Cave of Mammon*, In Canto VII of Book II of the *Faerie Queen*, Sir Guyon goes through the temptation of wealth. He enters into the Cave of Mammon, the God of Wealth, who has stored his riches underground. Sir Guyon faints in the *Cave of Mammon* because he is without the company of the Palmer who stands for *prudence*.

P. 22, l. 19. *The Bower of Earthly Bliss*, The reference is to Acrasia's Bower in the 12th canto of Book II of the poem. It is one of the most beautiful and melodious parts of the *Faerie Queene*. Acrasia is a witch or enchantress, a sort of Siren or Circe, changing her loves into monstrous shapes.

P. 22, ll. 22-23. *The scanning . . . Truth.* The examination of vice and falsehood in order to enable human virtue to be strengthened.

P. 22, l. 24. *Scout into.* Explore (Cf.: *Paradise Lost*, II, 131).

P. 22, l. 25. *Tractates.* Treatises. [Both words have the same meaning and origin, from Latin *Traho*, treat: *Tractate* comes from *Tractum* and *Treatise* from *Treat*, but *Treat* itself comes through French from *Tractum*, the supine of *Traho*].

P. 22, ll. 27-28. *Of books promiscuously read.* From the promiscuous reading of books.

P. 23, ll. 3-4. *But then, all . . . out of the world.* If you attempt to eliminate moral infection from books you will have to eliminate all controversial literature.

P. 23, l. 5. *Not nicely.* Not fastidiously.

P. 24, l. 6. *Not unelegantly.* Elaborately; in an attractive manner.

P. 23, l. 7. *Brings in holiest men, etc.* For instance the *Book of Job*.

P. 23, l. 8. *Though all the arguments of Epicurus.* This we find now and then in *Ecclesiastes*, in some of the *Psalms*, and in parts of the *Book of Job*. *The arguments of Epicurus* would be a denial of *God's Providence*. In the beginning of the *Book of Job* however, Job has an implicit faith in God's Providence.

P. 23, ll. 8-11. *In others great . . . reader.* In other matters of importance, it gives only a doubtful light to the ordinary reader.

P. 23, l. 10. *Talmudist.* The Hebrew word *Talmud* means "doctrine". A *Talmudist* was one who was versed in the *Talmud*, usually a Jewish *Rabbi*, but there were also interpreters or glossators called *Targumists*. There were two versions of the *Talmud*, (1) one the Babylonian *Talmud*, and (2) that of Jerusalem, called the *Gemara*. The *Targums* or glosses were generally in the Aramaic dialect.

P. 23, l. 11. *Keri.* Marginal interpretations, glosses or paraphrases, (from the Hebrew *keri*= Read).

P. 23, ll. 10-11. *What ails . . . Keri.* How is it that the

strong language of the original offends the sense of decency of the *Targumist* or commentator? It was a rule with the *Targumists* to change all words in the Jewish scriptures that were obscene into more civil words.

P. 23, ll. 11-13. *That Moses Chetiv*, So THAT Moses and all the prophets, etc.

P. 23, ll. 12-13. *Pronounce the textual Chetiv*, Pronounce the text as it is actually written in the holy books. *Chetiv* (Hebrew) = *written*, while *Keri* (Hebrew) = *read*:—so that what is *read* is another thing. Milton detested this dabbling with the Holy Texts.

P. 23, l. 13. *We all know the Bible itself put*, We know the Bible itself is *put*.

P. 23, l. 15. *The ancientest removed*, You begin with prohibiting the Bible, you will then come down to the prohibition of the writings of the ancient Fathers of the Church, like Clement, Eusebius, etc.

P. 23, ll. 15-16. *Clement of Alexandria*, (died between 213 and 220 A.D.). In 190 A.D. he was presbyter and the head of a celebrated Catechetical School at Alexandria, but he fled to Palestine during the persecution of Severus. His book called *Missionary* is an exhortation to give up idolatry, but in doing so he dealt with the impurities of polytheism, and Milton suggests that dealing even indirectly with impurity may come under the ban of enthusiastic licensors.

P. 23, ll. 16-17. *That Eusebian preparation*, Milton suggests that Eusebius's work called the Evangelical Preparation (i.e. Preparation for the Revelation of the Gospel) might come under censure because Eusebius describes in it the state of things in the heathen world before the advent of Christ. Eusebius also wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* to which Milton has made a reference in the preceding pages.

P. 23, l. 19. *Irenaeus*, Bishop of Lyons in France about 177 A.D. His works are nearly all lost.

P. 23, l. 19. *Epiphanius*, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus about 367 A.D. He wrote a book against heresies.

P. 23, l. 19. *Jerome*, Refer to the story about his being whipped in a dream for reading Cicero. He wrote a continuation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius.

P. 23, l. 19. *Discover*, Exhibit ; display.

P. 23, l. 20. *And that oft for heresy, etc.* And often discover that for a heresy which is the truer opinion.

P. 23, l. 22. *Nor boots it to say, etc.*, It is no use to say in the case of these writers.

P. 23, l. 23. *Of greatest infection*, Whose ideas are likely to influence or impress us most.

P. 24, l. 1. *With whom . . . learning*, Whose writings have had the greatest influence on the world's thought.

P. 24, l. 5. *First into the courts of princes*, Especially into the courts of rulers.

P. 24, l. 6. *Criticisms of sin*, Professor Hales explains the word *criticisms* as meaning "refinements, niceties"—what in Latin would be expressed by "*elegantiae*", so that "*criticisms*" here = "*not* a judgment but something selected by a judgment." Thus the *sins* would be most select, refined sins.

P. 24, l. 7. *Petronius, whom Nero called his orbiter*, Petronius was a favourite and boon-companion of Nero, who made him his director of amusements, or to use the Latin expression employed by Tacitus, *elegantiae arbiter* (*Annales* XVI, 18-19). Nero considered no delight or enjoyment soft enough unless Petronius certified it to that effect. His influence upon Nero excited the jealousy of another imperial confidant Tigellinus, and in consequence he was accused of treason, and like Seneca, committed suicide. Petronius was the author of a work called *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon*, which is a sort of satirical character—novel, composed of a series of fragments, chiefly in prose but interspersed with verse. It is coarse and often obscene. There is, however, a doubt whether Nero's arbiter was actually the same Petronius as the author of the *Satyricon*.

P. 24, ll. 7-8. *The Master of the Revels*, This was the official title in Tudor England of the official who supervised masques and other court entertainments. In the time of James I, it was Inigo Jones, with whom Ben Jonson (a great writer of *Masques*) quarrelled for "making literature a matter of carpentering".

P. 24, l. 8. *That notorious ribald of Arezzo*, "Time has now so effectually buried his profligate writings in oblivion," says

Mr. St. John, "that few but bibliographers, appear to know their existence". *Arezzo* stands for Pietro Aretino (1492-1557). When quite a boy he was banished for a satire against the Church authorities. At Rome by his wit, impudence and talents he secured the patronage of the Pope, which he lost by sixteen shameless sonnets, *Sonetti Lussuriosi* ("Luxurious Sonnets"). He then found favour at the court of the Medicis of Florence and Francis I of France, made friends again with the Pope and won the patronage of the Emperor Charles V and pensions and presents from most of them. It is said that while laughing heartily at a droll adventure of one of his sisters, he fell off from his stool and was killed on the spot. His poetical works include five witty comedies and a tragedy. His satire was so dreaded by his contemporaries that he called himself the "Scourge of Princes".

P. 24, l. 9. *Ribald*, A loose, low character. The word is Italian (*Ribaldo*) but comes from a German root meaning a *whore*.

P. 24, l. 9. *I name not Vicar of Hell*, This may refer to Cardinal Wolsey, but probably refers to Skelton, the satirical poet, who was Vicar of Diss in Norfolk. In Latin *Dis* means Pluto, the god of Hell. So there may be a pun in making the *Vicar of Diss*, the *Vicar of Dis* or Vicar of the god of Hell. Another explanation is that the expression stands for Thomas Cromwell, who succeeded Sir Thomas More as Lord Chancellor. The phrase *Vicar of Hell* was probably coined as a travesty of the Pope's title of *Vicar of Christ*.

P. 24, l. 11. *Compendious*, Short.

P. 24, l. 13. *Indian voyage*, These voyages naturally took a long time in Milton's days.

P. 24, l. 14. *North of Cataio*, North of Cathay, a province of Tartary, the ancient seat of the *Chams* (or *Khans*) of Tartary.

P. 24, ll. 14-15. *By the north of Cataio eastward or of Canada westward*, Long before Milton, apart from the Cape of Good Hope route (which the Portuguese claimed as a monopoly), and the Cape Horn route, doubling South America, (which the Spaniards claimed as their monopoly), as per award made

by the Pope attempts had been made by English mariners to reach India by the North-East route across North Russia, which carried them no further than Archangel, or by the North-West route beyond Canada. The latter only resulted in the discovery of Hudson's Bay Territory, Davis's Strait, Newfoundland etc. The actual exploration of a North-West passage was not accomplished till the nineteenth century.

P. 24, ll. 15-16. *While our Spanish severely*, However severely our licensing system, of the Spanish Inquisition origin, may bind the mouths of the people. The evil will spread in spite of licensing.

P. 24, l. 18. *Doubtful*, Fearful; to be dreaded. (It *does not mean* here "uncertain".)

P. 24, ll. 18-19. *Is more doubtful ignorant*, Controversial books may be dangerous to the learned by making them familiar with heretical opinions, but they have no effect on the ignorant, because they will not trouble themselves about these things.

P. 24, l. 23. *Some of that clergy*, Some of the Catholic clergy.

P. 24, l. 25. *Prophecy eunuch*, In Acts VIII, 27-35, we have an account of a Christian preacher, Philip, coming across a rich eunuch, treasurer to the Ethiopian Queen Candace, reading the book of *Isaiah*, but not able to understand it without a guide, till Philip explained it to him.

P. 25, l. 2. *Sorbonists*. The *Sorbonne* is the great theological college in Paris, named after Robert Sorbonne, Confessor to Louis IX (St. Louis) who founded it in 1252. *Sorbonists* would be theological scholars or professors at the Sorbonne.

P. 25, ll. 2-4. *How fast sad*. We have sad experience in recent times how these Jesuits and Scholars of the Sorbonne can corrupt the people and convert them to Catholicism. Cf. *Lycidas*, ll. 127-128 :—

"Beside what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing sad."

P. 25, l. 4. *Distinct*, Either *distinguished* or *clear-headed*; *decided*.

P. 25, l. 4. *Arminius* (1556-1609), Latinised name of Har-

mensen, a Dutch Scholar, who was originally a Calvinist and studied a treatise against Calvin in order to refute it. The result was that his own views changed and he formed a new sect of his own called Arminianism. Arminius came to deny the fundamental Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination (*viz.* that God has previously fixed up every thing and everything will occur according to that scheme). The High Church Party of Archbishop Laud favoured Arminius's view as being opposed to Calvinism. "Perverted" = corrupted.

P. 25, l. 5. *Nameless*, Anonymous.

P. 25, l. 6. *Delft*, A Dutch town at present well-known for its glazed pottery.

P. 25, ll. 10-11. *Of either sort*, i.e. books which cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning and books which cannot be suppressed without the loss of argumentative ability.

P. 25, l. 11. *Catching*, Infectious.

P. 25, l. 16. *And evil doctrine not with books etc.*, The expression is rather clumsy. Milton probably means:—Evil doctrine can be propagated without the agency of books, unless there is a good teacher to guide.

P. 25, l. 18. *And so beyond prohibiting*, Such guidance can be given without writing, and if it is given without writing, your prohibition does not become operative. "Beyond prohibiting" is co-ordinate with "without writing".

P. 25, ll. 18-19. *I am not unable to unfold*, i.e. I can explain.

P. 25, l. 19. *Cautelous*, The adjective formed from a post-classical *Latin* word and means "That which is to be cautioned against" i.e. something that is to be guarded against, something which is highly dangerous.

P. 25, l. 20. *Can be exempted from*, Can be distinguished from.

P. 25, l. 22. *Liken it to*, Compare it to.

P. 25, ll. 22-23. *That gallant . . . park gate*, One of the exploits which would have done credit to the wise men of Gotham! Professor Hales quotes an illustration from Harriet Martineau's *Complete Guide to the English Lakes* about the inhabitants of Borrowdale trying to build a wall all round in

order to keep in a cuckoo and so make the spring last for ever.

P. 25, l. 23. *Pound up*, Shut in.

P. 26, ll. 2-3. *First receivers . . . error*, First to contract errors and vices from books and the first to propagate them.

P. 26, l. 10. *Any advantage to his wisdom*, An improvement or addition to his wisdom.

P. 26, l. 13. *Keep that from him*, Keep that from the fool.

P. 26, ll. 14-15. *Judgment of Aristotle*, Opinion of Aristotle, as expressed in his *Ethics* I, 3, where Aristotle says that political science proves useless to a young man without experience and who follows the dictates of his passion.

P. 26, l. 15. *Solomon*, See *Proverbs* XVII, 7, "Excellent speech becometh not a fool" and XXVI, 5, "Answer a fool according to his folly."

P. 26, l. 15. *Of our Saviour*, See *Matthew* VII, 6, "Neither cast your pearls before swine."

P. 26, l. 16. *By consequence*, In consequence.

P. 26, l. 18. *Idle pamphlet*, A pamphlet without any sense in it.

P. 27, ll. 6-7. *Which man's life cannot want*, Which human life cannot dispense with, cannot do without.

P. 27, ll. 9-10. *By all the licensing . . . contrive*, Milton has again one more sting at the Inquisition and at Archbishop Laud. He means "by all that the ecclesiastical licensers could do to hinder reading".

P. 27, ll. 11-13. *Which is what . . . framed*, And this is the next topic in my argument or discourse, viz. that the licensing will prove ineffective for the purpose for which it is introduced. Milton is now taking up the third point in his argument.

P. 27, ll. 13-14. *And hath almost prevented me etc.*, This third point of my argument has almost been anticipated in what I have so far said—i.e. my previous argument has already contained within itself the proofs I am going to advance in my next argument,—the latter is easily deducible from the former. *Prevented* = anticipated: run before (from Latin *praevenire*, come before, used in its literal sense.)

P. 27, ll. 14-15. *Thus much hath been explaining*, Quite

idiomatic, but generally meaning "has been getting explained." Note that *Explaining* is not a *participle* in the context, but what is called in Latin Grammar a *gerund* or *verbal noun*, governed by a *preposition* understood, and literally meaning "Thus much has been *in* (or *on*) explaining", it being the same usage as we find in *a-hunting*, *a-fishing* etc.

P. 27, ll. 15-17. *See the ingenuity . . . overtake her*, This only illustrates the simple frankness that characterises truth, which when left free to itself expresses its full import and significance far more quickly than logical proof which comes limping behind.

P. 27, l. 15. *Ingenuity*, from Latin : *ingenuus*, well-born, hence frankness, openness ; sincerity,-- a common Elizabethan sense, while in modern times, it means *skill* etc. But here *ingenuity* is the same as modern *ingeniousness*, or sincerity.

P. 27, l. 16. *When she gets a free and willing hand*, When she is not encumbered with previous prejudices and popular notions.

P. 27, l. 17. *Discourse* (*can overtake her*), Reason. Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet* IV, iv, 36-37 : --

"Sure he that made us with such large *discourse*.

Looking before and after etc."

P. 27, l. 18. *It was the task which I began with etc.*, I began with the argument that no good nation or well-constituted state that had any regard for learning, cared to have any licensing of books. (*The task which I began with*, is Elizabethan style. The more clear and emphatic style of Dryden would prefer the wording : "the task *with which* I began.")

P. 27, l. 20. *Did ever use*, More emphatic than "ever used".

P. 27, ll. 20-21. *It might be answered . . . discovered*, My opponents may argue that licensing and its advantages are a new discovery. Milton proceeds to meet this objection in what follows.

P. 28, l. 1. *Return*, Reply.

P. 28, ll. 2-4. *There wanted not among them long since who suggested such a course*, [Understand the antecedent *persons* or *men*, before *who* suggested. In omitting the antecedent in

in this context, Milton is following the usage of Latin Syntax, where for instance when the meaning requires us to say : *there are persons who*, the Latin usage is to say : *there are who* : (Latin : *Sunt qui* etc. followed by the subjunctive mood)]. There was no lack of persons among them to suggest this sort of thing.

P. 28, ll. 4-5. *Which they not judgment*, In the fact that they did not follow such a course, they have presented to us a sample or model of their way of thinking about the matter.

P. 28, l. 6. *Which was not using it*, They did not follow this course, not because they did not know about it, but just because they did not approve of it,—because they condemned it. [This is the "pattern of their judgment" which they have left us.]

P. 28, ll. 7-8. *A man of his Commonwealth*, Milton considers Plato to be a philosopher of high authority, but not his *Republic* i.e. *Commonwealth*. In his Dialogue entitled the *Republic*, Plato has described at length his picture of an ideal state. He himself states there that this picture is incapable of realisation. His picture is that of a State governed by Philosopher Kings, who are not to marry, and though it is a sort of socialistic state, there is a sort of class system, the philosophers standing highest of all. Plato imagines a state in which the axiomatic ideas of Justice, Virtue, Truth etc. are pushed to their logical conclusions. There is to be no art and poetry in his State, because poets deal with fiction and give us a wrong idea of the deity. So poets are to be banished from Plato's Republic. Plato is the most poetical of the Greek philosophers and it is strange to find him banishing the poets from his State and thinking like Calvin. In reality the Platonic philosophy is just the converse of that of Calvin. Mr. St. John remarks :—"We admit with Aristotle that Plato's plan of a republic is the most remote from actual politics that has ever been imagined. No other legislator has proposed a community of wives,—though something of the kind exists in India among the Nairs,—or a community of property, or common tables for the women."

P. 28, l. 8. *In the book of his Laws*, In Plato's treatise *De Legibus* (*Nomoi*) which is a distinct work from the *De Republica*.

P. 28, ll. 8-9. *Which no city received*, These Laws of Plato have not been accepted by any state or city on earth.

P. 28, ll. 9-10. *To his airy burgomasters*, To the imaginary mayors or magistrates of the town or state for which he proposed his laws.

P. 28, l. 10. *Burgomaster*, (from *burgh* or *borough*) Mayors or magistrates ruling a town.

P. 28, l. 11. *Wish had been rather buried etc.*, Whether Milton says this about Plato's *Republic* or his *De Legibus*, surely cannot be taken seriously. Milton must be taken to be rather in a jocular vein. For though Plato's scheme is impracticable, no one would consent to have these remarkable books extinguished, which really teem with original thoughts and bold speculations, which whether acceptable or not, have a refreshing influence on the human mind. As for Plato's socialistic doctrines, it may be remarked that even Aristotle, who criticised Plato, considered an approach to something like equality of possessions highly conducive to the happiness of civil society.

P. 28, l. 12. *By which laws*, i.e. by his laws as described in the treatise *De Legibus*.

P. 28, l. 12. *Academic night-sitting*, A symposium in the Academia. "Night-sitting" is a drinking party, what the Greeks called a *Symposium*. Plato's school was called the *Academy* (or *Academia*) because he lectured in the grove, which was sacred to an old hero named *Academus*.

P. 28, l. 13. *But by unalterable decree*, Elliptical language. The general meaning is: "He seems to tolerate no learning, but (= except) what he permits (or fixes) by unalterable decree."

P. 28, l. 14. *Consisting most traditions*, And even the little learning which he permits (or tolerates) consisted mostly of traditions of a practical nature.

P. 28, ll. 16-17. *No poet should be etc.*, This is what Plato proposed in the *De Republica*.

P. 28, ll. 18-19. *Until the judges allowed it*. This will amount to a kind of licensing.

P. 28, ll. 19-21. *But that Plato evident*, But it is evident from his writing that this licensing proposal of Plato was solely meant for his ideal Republic and for no existing state.

P. 28, ll. 21-25. *Why was he not else infancy*, Why did he not apply his own laws to himself: he was himself a breaker of his own laws and he deserved to be banished by the magistrates of his own ideal republic for certain wanton epigrams and dialogues he wrote and for his constant reading of Sophron the Mime and Aristophanes, two most infamous writers.

P. 28, l. 22. *To be expelled*, Deserving punishment. Plato of course was never banished, though after the death of his friend Socrates he retired to Sicily and Southern Italy and only after his first visit to Syracuse started lecturing in the Academia. In an early Latin poem of Milton on *De Idea Platonica Quemadmodum Aristoteles Intellexit*, (*On the Platonic Idea as Aristotle Understood It*), Milton writes: "You (i.e. Plato) being yourself a great writer of fables, will have to recall the poets whom you have banished from your Republic, or you yourself the founder of the Republic shall migrate from thence."

P. 28, l. 23. *Wanton epigrams and dialogues*, No epigrams of Plato have come down to us, nor is there any mention of them. What Milton means is therefore a puzzle, unless he means the famous Dialogues of Plato on Love in the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium*. As a rigid Puritan, Milton must have condemned Plato's luxuriance of fancy, as Plato himself must have condemned it had he acted up to his own theories in the *De Republica* (—and that is of course what Milton means here—). On the other hand it may be said that there is little in Plato which is more open to a Puritan's objection than certain richly-coloured descriptions in the Puritan poet's *Paradise Lost* are.

P. 28, ll. 24-25. *Sophron Mimus*, Sophron, the writer of Mimes. The Mime was one of the varieties of Dorian Comedy. Sophron (460-420 B.C.) belonged to Syracuse and was therefore a Dorian. Plato paid two visits to Syracuse and must have met Sophron in his earlier visit. Sophron's *Mimes* consisted of dramatic dialogues, representing scenes of social life. The second and

the fifteenth of the Idylls of Theocritus are based on two of Sophron's Mimes. Only fragments of his work have come down. In his *Apology for Smectymmus*, Milton says we have no examples of an ancient Mime, but "some fragments which contain many acute and wise sentences" and he proceeds to tell us that the Mimes of Sophron were of "such reckoning with Plato as to take them nightly to read on and after make them his pillow."

P. 28, l. 25. *Aristophanes*. See earlier note on *Vetus Comedia* and on *Aristophanes*. It cannot be said that there is anything in Aristophanes' surviving comedies that is in any way more licentious than a good deal of the Elizabethan Drama, including Shakespeare. This is the best comment, we can make on the alleged "grossest infamy" of Aristophanes. Aristophanes is one of the characters taking part in Plato's dialogue entitled *Symposium*.

P. 28, ll. 25-28. *Also for commending . . . tyrant Dionysius*. See notes to *Para*. 7 above.

P. 28, l. 28. *Trash*, (from Scandinavian Tros, fallen twigs), Worthless rubbish.

P. 28, l. 29. *But that he knew, etc.*. Elliptical construction. We have to repeat in thought the words opening the previous clause, viz., *Why was he not else a language to himself*, but that he knew, etc. Practically *but that* = except that.

P. 28, ll. 30-31. *Had reference . . . republic*. Was subject to many conditions described in his ideal Republic.

P. 29, l. 1. *Fell upon*. Addressed themselves to.

P. 29, l. 6. *Fond labour*. Foolish labour; labour lost.

P. 29, l. 6. *Shut and fortify one gate*. The idea and words are repeated in *Samson Agonistes*, ll. 560-561:--

"What boots it at one gate to make defence,
And at another let in the foe."

P. 29, l. 8. *If we think to regulate printing, thereby to, etc.*. If we think by regulating printing to rectify manners.

P. 29, l. 11. *What is grave and Doric*. In music, as in architecture, the Doric stood for plainness and simplicity, and in architecture the Ionic and Corinthian stood for decorative styles. In music, the three styles were Doric, the Lydian and the Phrygian. In music the styles were known as "moods". The Do-

rian mood expressed martial music, generally with flutes and trumpets; the Lydian the soft and voluptuous notes of the flute and the *cithara*, and the Phrygian expressed the wild and loud chants at revels, orgies and triumphs. In *Paradise Lost*, I, 550, Milton describes the phalanx of the fallen spirits moving to the "Dorian mood" of flutes and recorders.

P. 29, l. 14. *For such Plato was provided of*. Plato was provided with means to meet such cases, i.e. he has provided for this in the scheme of his Republic. Plato has considered the case of music and dancing in the *Republic*, 398-400.

P. 29, l. 18. *Must be licensed what they may say*, i.e., the words composing their music will have to be licensed.

P. 29, l. 19. *Airs*, Sprightly songs.

P. 29, l. 19. *Madrigals*, A piece of vocal music in five or six parts,—also a short poem expressing a graceful and tender thought. [*Italian*, from Latin "mandra", a sheep-fold, so that the original meaning is a *pastoral* song or herdsman's song.]

P. 29, l. 20. *Balconies*, (*Italian*) Milton spelt the word as in Italian, viz.: *balcone* and probably pronounced it the same way [from Italian *balco*, timber work].

P. 29, l. 21. *Shrewd*, Used in the sense of *shrewish*, i.e., sharp-tongued; mischievous.

P. 29, l. 21. *Frontispieces*, (from Latin *frontispicium*, a front view) Milton spells the word as "frontispices", which is more faithful to the origin. The word has nothing to do with *PIECE*. It comes from Latin *frons*, "front" and *specio*, "I see".

P. 29, ll. 21-22. *These are shrewd . . . sale*, The reference is to beautiful women (not necessarily *bad* women, though they are certainly included) standing in the balconies and tempting the passers-by with their looks.

P. 29, l. 23. *Visitors*, A term used in the Universities.

P. 29, ll. 23-24. *What lectures*, What discourses.

P. 29, l. 24. *Rebeck*, (from Arabic: *rabāba*) Musical instrument of the violin kind, with three strings played with a bow, introduced by the Moors into Spain.

P. 29, l. 25. *Ballatry*, Ballads. [The suffix *ry* has the collective force as in words like gentry, peasantry, cavalry, etc.]

P. 29, l. 25. *Gamut*, (Milton wrote *gammuth*, from *Gamma*, the Greek G, denoted the last note in the scale of musical notation. A. 11.

tion as invented by Guido). The word generally means the *musical scale*, but here it means generally the music which the fiddler played.

P. 29, l. 25. *Municipal*. Belonging to a small *municipium* or country town.

P. 29, ll. 25-26. *For these are Monte Mayors*, For to the shepherd or peasant in the country these ballads and fiddle music are highest art, literature and poetry. They are his ideals.

P. 29, l. 26. *Arcadies*, Generalised plural from the name of Sir Philip Sidney's pastoral novel or romance, called *Arcadia*, written about 1579-81. Milton may have this romance in his mind, which was once very popular, or he may be thinking of a romance called *Arcadia* by the Italian poet Sanazzaro, who lived from 1458 to 1530. The romance is part in verse and part in prose.

P. 29, l. 26. *Monte Mayor*, A Portuguese poet (1521-61) who wrote in Spanish a prose pastoral interspersed with verses, viz., *Diana Enamorada*, (*Diana in Love*) in which he transferred the Greek Arcadia to the heart of Spain. It is modelled on Sanazzaro's *Arcadia*.

P. 30, l. 2. *Hears ill abroad*, (This is a pure *Latinism* corresponding to the Latin *male audire*). Is in bad repute in foreign countries. English gluttony was in bad repute among foreigners.

P. 30, l. 2. *Household gluttony*, Compare Chaucer's picture of the *Franklin* in the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*. Shakespeare speaks of English Epicures in *Macbeth* V, 3. Cf.: Scott's picture of the Saxon Athelstane in *Ivanhoe*.

P. 30, l. 3. *Rectors*, Correctors.

P. 30, l. 4. *Inhibit*, Prohibit.

P. 30, l. 5. *Where drunkenness harbours*, viz., inns and liquor-shops. "Drunkenness is sold" is rather a strong expression, the abstract being used for concrete, meaning "drinks are sold". St. John remarks: "Many of the evils that afflict society are indestructible; among these must be reckoned the public resorts of drunkenness and debauchery but what government has done all that might be done to reduce the evil as far as possible?" An answer was recently given by the Congress Party Government in Bombay.

* P. 30, ll. 5-6. *Our garments also, etc.*, In ancient Rome, (especially during the Punic Wars) sumptuary laws used to be passed to restrain extravagance in dress, and in England till the reign of Queen Elizabeth there used to be sumptuary laws on the subject from time to time.

P. 30, l. 14. *As is the fashion of this country?* Visitors from the Catholic countries of Southern Europe were struck with the extreme freedom of intercourse between the sexes in England, especially the Spaniards, whose long contact with the Moors had taught them to keep the women apart and keep them under the strict control of *duennas*. But America (not to speak of Hollywood) has made social intercourse between the sexes far more general.

P. 30, l. 10. *What presumed*, "What degree of presumption;—of liberty and boldness generally—may be permitted, how far we may go". [Professor Hales].

P. 30, l. 16. *To sequester*, To withdraw; retire (the verb is usually *transitive*, meaning *separate*, but here it is used intransitively).

P. 30, ll. 16-17. *Into Atlantic and Utopian polities*, Into the social and political institutions of entirely imaginary states like *Atlantis* and *Utopia*.

P. 40, l. 16. *Atlantis*, In the *Timaeus* and *Critias*, Plato speaks of a fabulous island in the Atlantic, which he called *Atlantis*. It was a sort of *Utopia*. Bacon used the name and idea in his *New Atlantis*, which is a state governed by scientists and philosophers, Bacon's idea being coloured also by Plato's *Republic*. In Morris's *Earthly Paradise* we have the same idea of an ideal, mysterious island-state in the Atlantic, though his outlook is that of a poet and an artist.

P. 30, l. 17. *Utopia*, Sir Thomas More's speculative essay written in Latin about 1516. The story is about an ideal government. We are told that More has met at Antwerp a traveller who has discovered *Utopia*, a *Nowhere land*. Communism is the general law of this land. There is a national system of education both for men and women and the greatest toleration and freedom of religion. The book became very popular and was translated into English, French, German,* and Spanish. More was inspired both by Plato's *Republic* and by

the recent voyages of discovery like those of Colombus and Amerigo Vespucci. *Utopia* thus stands for an ideal government and an ideal society, which exist nowhere. Milton spells the word *E'utopia*, and in doing this he must have thought that *Utopia* meant a *Happy Land* (Greek *Eu* = *good* and *topos* = *place*). But More meant and wrote *Oútopia*, the *Land of Nowhere*, a thing we also have got in Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*, which is an *anagram* of *Nowhere*.

P. 30, l. 17. *Polities*, Systems of government.

P. 31, l. 2. *Unavoidably*, Which we cannot escape from.

P. 31, l. 5. *Frustrate*, Frustrated; baffled.

P. 31, ll. 5-7. *Those unwritten . . . mentions*, In Book IV of the *Republic*, Plato refers to such *unwritten laws*, and Thucydides also makes Pericles refer to them in his famous speech. These are laws which are not statutes but which rest on morals and education. Professor Hales quotes from Horace : *Odes* III, 24 in illustration, which may be thus rendered into English : "What do laws avail, vain without morals? . . . The seeds of vicious lust must be rooted out and the minds that are yet tender must be shaped with harsher studies." These seeds of vicious lust are bad enough in an individual : in a nation they are simply frightful ! For they lead to Dominion Lust, Imperialism, Fascism and what not. They mean Italy, Germany and Japan and the horrors of war in our blessed twentieth century. They spell unhappiness all over the world.

P. 31, l. 8. *Ligaments*, That which binds together.

P. 31, l. 11. *Impunity and remissness*, Letting offenders go unpunished and slackness in administering the law.

P. 31, l. 16. *Under pittance*, Literally *under a system of doles*,—but the meaning here is more general, *viz. under regulation, restraint, control*,—or being "dragooned" in everything from above and having no power to act upon one's free will in anything.

P. 31, l. 17. *What were virtue but a name?* In such a case (when a man's conduct is determined from above and nothing rests on his own free choice) there would be no reality in virtue, no meaning in it. It will be a mere name, merely the shadow of a reality. It will be meaningless. (*Were* = would be.)

P. 31, l. 18. *What grammercy, What thanks.*

P. 32, l. 2. *Reason is but choosing*, Orthodox Christianity maintains the two *opposite* doctrines of (1) man's Free Will and (2) Divine Predestination i.e. Divine Providence. Milton does so in the present passage. The idea is that God knew that Adam would transgress His command (*re* not eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil), but God had given Reason to Adam by means of which he *might have chosen* not to transgress His command. On the other side it might be said that God's decree almost compelled Adam to disobey : where was an exercise for free choice left ? A further question is "why did God at all permit the existence of Evil ?" No orthodox Christian—and for the matter of that no orthodox follower of any system of religion whatsoever can answer this question. Milton simply makes Raphael tell Adam in *Paradise Lost* that "to stand or fall, free in thine (Adam's) arbitrement lies" and we might generally suppose that Milton's hypothesis is that God wished man to learn good by evil, even if he were thus precipitated into evil action. In the expression : *Reason is but choosing*, there is a sort of quibble between the Greek *logos* = reason and the Latin *lego*, I choose. Cf. *Paradise Lost* II, ll. 558-561 :—

" Reasoned high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate,
Fixed fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute ;
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

The fact is that everyone who thinks of these two opposite doctrines of (1) Free-Will and (2) Divine predestination (a thing which the vulgar call Fate and the modern philosopher calls Predeterminism) cannot help being lost in "wandering mazes". Milton's purpose in *Paradise Lost* was to :

" Assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men."

He will therefore premise (1) the existence of Evil and (2) a reason for it in God's mind and (3) yet show God's ways are just to man in spite of its existence and in spite of His predestination, *because* (4) *man is free to choose*. But as we

have seen, we still remain in "wandering mazes lost!" The subject of man's free will, or freedom to choose is discussed in Hobbes' Treatise on *Liberty and Necessity* and in the *Leviathan*, chapter XXI and in Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, Book II, chapter 21.

P. 32, ll. 3-4. *He had been . . . Adam*, Without free-will, Adam would not have been a natural man, but a puppet or marionette.

P. 32, l. 3. *Motions*, Puppet-shows. (See *Winter's Tale* IV, 2, 102, where Shakespeare speaks of a *motion of the Prodigal Son*.)

P. 32, l. 4. *Esteem not of*, Do not think highly of. As regards the use of the preposition *of*, cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*: "If you like of me."

P. 32, l. 5. *Provoking*, Inviting; enticing. (The provoking object in Adam's case of course was the fruit of the forbidden tree.)

P. 32, l. 15. *It cannot from all*, It cannot be withdrawn from all.

P. 33, ll. 3-4. *Yet pours out before us even to a profuseness*, This same argument is used by Comus to persuade the Lady in that *Masque* to drink of the magic wine. See *Comus*, ll. 762-779.

P. 33, ll. 4-5. *Gives us minds . . . satiety*, The thought is superbly expressed by Shakespeare in *Hamlet* II, 2, 315 in the famous passage beginning with: "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty: etc."

P. 33, l. 7. *Scanting*, Giving only in measured quantity.

P. 33, l. 10. *It would be better done*, Cf. Milton's *Lycidas*, 67:—

"Were it not better done
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair?"

P. 33, l. 13. *A dram of well-doing*, Cf. Shakespeare, *Hamlet* I, 4, 36: "a dram of evil".—But this text is corrupt.

P. 33, l. 13. *Dram*, A contraction of Greek *drachma*.

P. 33, l. 15. *For God sure*, For God surely.

P. 33, l. 17. *Albeit*, Although it be.

P. 33, ll. 17-19. *Whatever thing we hear our book*, The idea is expressed by the exiled Duke in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* II, i, 15-17 :--

"And this our life exempt from public haunt
Finds tongues in trees, *books* in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

P. 33, l. 23. *That continued court-libel*, A virulent Royalist paper, published regularly once a week by one Mercurius Aulicus (an anonymous name meaning "Messenger of the Court") from 1642 to the end of 1645 and afterwards occasionally by Sir John Birkenhead, Reader in Moral Philosophy at Oxford. It is called a *Libel* by Milton, because it systematically abused the leaders of the Parliament Party then at war with the King. Professor Hales remarks that "the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century were the birth-time of newspapers."

P. 34, l. 3. *Blindfold*, We should say *blindfolded*.

P. 34, l. 5. *Frustrate* (Latin form : *frustratus* or *frustratum*). Ineffectual.

P. 34, l. 6. *Repeal*, Abolish.

P. 34, l. 8. *Divulged*, Published.

P. 34, l. 15. *Officials*. This word was particularly in bad odour at this time, because it was first used of those officers in the Ecclesiastical Courts who were deputed by the Bishops to take cognizance of spiritual offences.

P. 34, l. 16. *Expunction*, The act of *expunging*.

P. 34, ll. 16-17. *That the commonwealthdamnified*, That literature should not be put to a loss. Milton uses words borrowed from the formula used by the Roman Senate when in time of great peril they passed an extraordinary decree arming the consuls with dictatorial powers. The formula ran : "Videant consules ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat" [i.e. "let the consuls see that the commonwealth suffered no harm"]. Here of course instead of *res publica* or *commonwealth*, Milton talks of the *republic* of letters.

P. 34, l. 17. *Damnified*, Put to loss. The word is used by Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* II, 6, 43. A compound of this word is *indemnify*. It is more common in use.

P. 34, ll. 22-23. *According to the model of Trent and Sevil,* i.e. as rigorously as was done by the Council of Trent and the Spanish Inquisition at Seville. See note to *Trentine Council* in para 10 above. The Spanish Inquisition or the Holy Office as it was called, was formally instituted by the Dominican friar Torquemada (1420-1498) at Seville in 1483. Torquemada's name has become a byword for pitiless cruelty.

P. 35, l. 3. *To that end . . . meant it,* For the purpose for which you intended it.

P. 35, l. 3. *If to prevent sects etc.,* If your purpose is to prevent sects etc.

P. 35, l. 4. *Unread . . . story,* Ignorant of history. *Uncatechised* here means "not having knowledge of catechisms of history."

P. 35, l. 5. *Of many sects refusing books,* Professor Hales quotes a passage from Drayton's *Polyolbion*, showing Drayton's opinion that the ancient Druids did not commit their mysteries to writing but committed them to memory. The same law applies to the early history of the *Vedas* in India.

P. 35, l. 8. *For that . . . schism,* Milton is quite right here. The religion of Christ began as a schism from the formal religion of the Jews, and for some years at least only Israel's were converted to Christianity, till Paul became Apostle of the pagans.

P. 35, l. 9. *Gospels or epistles,* The Christian *scriptures* properly speaking consist of the four gospels of which perhaps that of *Matthew* is the most ancient, and the Epistles, especially of Paul, among which the first *Epistle to the Thessalonians* seems the most ancient, though the Epistles of Peter may be still more ancient. By the time of these Epistles however, Christianity was already rooted as a new system.

P. 35, l. 17. *Sit upon the birth of,* Preside over the birth of. [*Preside* literally means *sit before* or *sit at the head of.*]

P. 35, l. 18. *Be wafted,* Carried over or ferried across the river that separated (according to the pagan idea) life from pre-natal existence.

P. 36, ll. 2-3. *May be else no mean mistakes in the censure,* Otherwise grave mistakes will be made in the judgment of books.

P. 36, ll. 5-6. *Journeywork*, Drudgery (literally: *day's labour*).

P. 36, l. 11. *Would not down*, Would not go down; i.e. could not be swallowed even in fair print.

P. 36, ll. 13-14. *Is but of a sensible nostril*, If he be at all a man of delicate taste. The metaphor of the nose is used by Horace in his *Satires* for literary judgment or susceptibility.

P. 36, l. 14. *Sensible (nostril)*, Sensitive (nostril).

P. 36, ll. 20-21. *To them who make . . . license*, To the authors or publishers who visit them repeatedly for the favour of their license for their publications.

P. 36, ll. 24-25. *A plain unthrif of their own hours*, Completely reckless prodigals as regards waste of time.

P. 36, ll. 25-26. *Except he mean . . . corrector*, Unless he intends to work on a proof-corrector's wages. *Salary* is literally *salt-allowance* to soldiers.

P. 37, l. 1. *I lastly proceed etc.*, Milton begins here the *fourth* section in his argument.

P. 37, ll. 2-3. *In being first the greatest discouragement*, This *discouragement* is the first point in this fourth section of the argument. A second point comes on three pages later and a conclusion of it ["and in conclusion it reflects etc."] follows on the page following, and some additions are made about seven pages further on, and thus after two more pages, the Peroration begins.

P. 37, l. 6. *Pluralities*, The holding of more than one church preferment by one clergyman. This was a crying evil in the days of Milton. For instance from 1607 to 1610 Laud was incumbent of five livings. Later on he held many deaneries and bishoprics at one and the same time.

P. 37, l. 7. *Dashed*, Daunted; dispirited.

P. 37, ll. 11-12. *Who had a competency left*, Milton had just before this, (i.e. in his *Animadversions on the Remonstrat's Defence*) inveighed against the idea that the riches of the church were a support to learning.

P. 37, ll. 12-26. *If therefore . . . put upon him*, This is a long paragraph of a sentence, but it is quite lucid and forcible and altogether a grand sentence, with a well-poised climax.

P. 37, l. 13. *Discontent*, Used as a verb i.e. cause to be discontented.

P. 37, l. 17. *That lasting fame praise*, Cf. *Lycidas*, 70-72 :—

“Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise,
That last infirmity of noble mind,
To scorn delights and live laborious days.”

P. 37, l. 21. *Hath but a common repute in learning*, Whose reputation for learning is admitted on all hands.

P. 37, l. 23. *Without a tutor or examiner*, i.e. the licenser, who is to examine, correct and expurgate.

P. 38, ll. 1-2. *Over it is to be a boy at school*, i.e. Over *what it is* to be a boy at school—i.e. what is the difference between the adult scholar and the school-boy?

P. 38, l. 2. *Ferula*, (Latin word for the teacher's rod or cane, from *Ferio*, I strike), *Ferule*; rod.

P. 38, l. 3. *Fescue*, (Latin : *festuca*, a straw; staff) A wand; staff; a straw or wire used to *point* out letters to children when learning to read.

P. 38, ll. 4-5. *Theme of a grammar-lad*, Essay written by a school-boy.

P. 38, l. 5. *Grammar lad*, A Grammar school lad.

P. 38, l. 5. *Uttered*, Published; circulated. (The word *utter* is still used for putting forged coins or currency notes into circulation.) Otherwise in this sense, the verb *utter* is obsolete. “To utter” = to put out i.e. put into circulation.

P. 38, l. 6. *Without the cursory eyes etc.*, Without the licenser's eyes running over (= *cursory*) the book in its MS. form.

P. 38, ll. 6-7. *A temporising licenser*, A licenser who considers only the expedencies of the moment (and not the merits of the book) and arranges offhand how to tide them over.

P. 38, l. 4. *Theme*, Essay; exercise in school composition.

P. 38, l. 6. *Temporising*, Considering only temporary interests or persons in authority for the moment.

P. 38, l. 6. *Extemporising*, Somehow fitting*up things to suit the needs of the moment.

P. 38, ll. 7-8. *His drift . . . evil*, Though it is known that he has no evil intention or purposes in view.

P. 38, ll. 8-9. *Standing to . . . penalty*, Facing the perils of the law and the penalties he might possibly have incurred. (*Standing to* = facing; confronting.)

P. 38, ll. 7-11. *He who is not trusted . . . foreigner*, A man who is known to be honest in his motives and is brave enough to confront any risks of law or penalties, but is nevertheless not trusted in any action he undertakes, has no reason to think that he is honoured in his own country any more than fools or foreigners.

P. 38, l. 9. *No great argument*, No great reason.

P. 38, ll. 14-15. *After all which done*, (This is a clear Latism,—the idiomatic use of the past participle, so as to turn the abstract into the concrete). After the doing of all *which* things, i.e. after the doing of all *those* things. Note again the connective use of *which* to tackle the sentence on to the preceding one,—another Latin usage.

P. 38, l. 17. *Fidelity*, Intellectual honesty; loyalty to truth and faithful use of his talents.

P. 38, ll. 16-22. *If in his the most . . . licenser*, In his loyal service to truth and ripeness of judgment, neither age, nor industry, nor former experience and past record can save him from mistrust, unless he presents the fruit of his industry and the expense of midnight oil and toil to the examination of a licenser.

P. 38, l. 20. *Expense of Palladian oil*, This refers to the pursuit of intellectual labour, or (*lucubrations*) at midnight by the learned scholar. This has reference to a Latin proverbial expression: *Operam et oleum perdere* "to lose one's labour and oil", where the word *oil* refers to the midnight oil consumed by the scholar for his night-lamp.

P. 38, l. 21. *Palladian* is belonging to Pallas, oil (i.e. the olive out of which oil was made) being one of the gifts of Pallas (Minerva or Athene) to Athens. The adjective also connotes the idea of *wise* or *learned*, since Pallas or Minerva was the goddess of wisdom. Ovid uses the word *Pallas* by metonymy for *lamp-oil* in his *Tristia*, IV, 5, 3.

P. 38, l. 22. *Unleisured*, The Greek word *scholē* (= school) originally meant *leisure*. In using the word, *unleisured*, Milton

may mean what it means to-day (i.e. not having any leisure-time), but he may perhaps also mean *unschooled*, without *schooling*, or without leisure for study.

P. 39, l. 1. *Like a puny*. Like a minor. From French *puisé*, "born after". Cf. the expression a *puisé* judge. In *Paradise Lost*, Satan contemptuously calls newly-created Adam and Eve "the puny inhabitants of earth". Here *puny* is used as a substantive, a sense not uncommon in Milton's time.

P. 39, ll. 1-6. *Must appear in print . . . learning*, Such an author who is introduced to the public with a licenser's certificate to the effect that the writing (and therefore the writer) is not senseless or immoral cannot have any sense of self-respect—it means no honour to his book or to learning in general.

P. 39, l. 3. *Idiot*, The word *Idiot* has had a long history and range of meanings. See Trench's *Study of Words*. From Greek *Idios*, (1) one's own, then (2) a "private person", (3) then a *rude* person, then (4) a *senseless* person, and (5) lastly a *mad-cap* or *imbecile*.

P. 39, l. 6. *And what if*, A very common *ellipsis*, especially in oratory and often in Cicero (who uses the similar expression, *Quid quod*, "what do you say to this that"). It means: "And what would you say if etc."

P. 39, l. 10. *Diligentest*, Note the *superlative*, so uncommon to-day.

P. 39, l. 12. *Trudge to his leave-giver*, This is a sarcastic picture of the poor author going again and again to the licenser for leave to put in every new idea or image in his work.

P. 39, l. 17. *Accuratest*, Most carefully thought out.

P. 39, l. 19. *Melancholy*, (from Greek *Melancholia*, black *chole* or "bile") Depression of spirits. Milton sometimes uses the word in the sense of *pensiveness*.

P. 39, l. 2. *Doctor*, The original meaning is *Teacher*, in which sense, Milton uses the word here.

P. 39, l. 25. *Patriarchal*, This is a sarcastic hit at Archbishop Laud, who as Archbishop of Canterbury, was the chief censor of books in his time. In ecclesiastical Greek, *Patriarch* ("Ruler of the Race") was given to the Bishops of Rome, Jerusalem, Constantinople, (= Byzantium), Antioch and Alexandria. Laud was a pious and learned man who wanted to make the

English Church conform as nearly as possible to the Catholic Church. In fact in the year he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, the offer of a Cardinal's hat had been made to him by the Pope. There was a rumour that Laud wanted to become the Patriarch of the Western Church.

P. 39, l. 26. *Hide-bound*. Incapable of further development. (An animal or tree, whose skin loses its freshness and ceases to grow is described as *hide-bound*. Such a skin is called *hide* or *bark*. In the case of these licensors, they are all bound up in their old rooted opinions and prejudices and incapable of an open mind or fresh outlook.

P. 39, l. 26. *Humour*. Name used by ancient (Greek and Roman) physicians for certain fluids in the human body such as blood, bile, phlegm, etc., upon the excess, lessening, or due proportion of which physical health and mental disposition depended. Here the word may mean a moody or petulant frame of mind.

P. 39, l. 26—P. 40, l. 1. *Which he . . . judgment*. Whatever their frame of mind—surliness, impatience, jealousy, petulance—may in their case pass under the name of judgment.

P. 40, l. 1. *When every acute, etc.* (Here practically *When* = And then) And then every acute, etc.

P. 40, l. 2. *Pedantic licence*. Such as a *pedant*, or *pedagogue* might give to a lad at a grammar-school. "Pedant" is a Latin word from the Greek *paidou'ein*. "to teach children" (from Greek *Pais*, *paidos* a boy), but some hold it is a contraction of *paidagogant* ("one who leads children"), which is the root of *pedagogue*.

P. 40, l. 3. *Ding . . . him*. Fling the boot as far as he can fling it. *Ding* = "fling", originally "to strike".

P. 40, l. 3. *A quoit's distance*. As far as an athlete can hurl his quoit or *discuss*. The *discuss* or quoit was thrown over the shoulder, with great force.

P. 40, l. 4. *I hate a pupil-teacher*. The reader will consider such an author as a teacher under the *pupillage* of the licenser and will condemn him.

P. 40, l. 5. *Wardship*. Guardianship.

P. 40, l. 5. *Overseering fist*. The fist or "correction" of an

overseer—an author who is as much a teacher as he is a pupil submitting to be “coughed” by *his* superior.

P. 40, ll. 7-8. *Who shall . . . judgment*, How can we be sure about his wisdom? What assurance or guarantee have I got about the licenser being an intelligent man?

P. 40, l. 8. *The stationer*, The publisher; bookseller. (Literally a man who had a *stall* (*station*) in the market.

P. 40, l. 13. *Return*, Reply.

P. 40, l. 13. *Bacon*, The quotation is from Bacon's tract, entitled *An Advertisement touching the controversies in the Church of England*, written about 1589, but published only in 1640. Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), as he was when he wrote this tract, is better known as Lord Bacon, and better still as Francis Bacon, the author of *Advancement of Learning*, *Novum Organum*, *New Atlantis*, *A History of Henry VII*, *Essays*, etc. The last mentioned work is the most read to-day of all his voluminous work. He had a passion for science, urged the Aristotelian Logic led nowhere and advocated a form of *Inductive Logic*, which however did not carry the scientist far. He rose to be Lord Chancellor of England and was believed to have taken bribes and was dismissed from his high post, whence Pope's description of him as “the wisest, brightest, and meanest of mankind”.

P. 40, l. 16. *Great jeopardy*, Great hazard (i.e. in the case of the next successor).

P. 40, ll. 17-18. *What is vulgarly received already*, Ordinary conventional or commonplace stuff.

P. 40, l. 19. *Nay, which is more lamentable etc.*, In modern English we will say: “Nay, what is more lamentable etc. In either case, the antecedent of the Relative is the whole sentence following. The fact expressed by the sentence “is more lamentable.”

P. 40, l. 19—P. 41, l. 4. *Nay, which is more . . . pardon him their dash*. Very clumsy, involved sentence.

P. 40, l. 22. *Of a venturous edge*, Of a daring keenness.

P. 41, l. 2. *Decrepit*, (Originally meant *noiseless*) Feeble; effete.

P. 41, l. 3. *Knox*, John Knox (1515-1572), the great Re-

former of the Scottish Church and founder of Scottish Presbyterianism.

P. 41, l. 3. *Though it were Knox himself*, There is possibly an allusion here to an edition of Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, published by Buchanan in 1644. This seems to have had some passages expunged. However it is not known whether the mutilation was made by the licenser or by Buchanan himself.

P. 41, l. 4. *Pardon him their dash*, Excuse him from their erasures.

P. 41, ll. 5-6. *For the fearfulness*, On account of the fearfulness.

P. 41, l. 6. *Perfunctory*, Formally official, as opposed to "zealous".

P. 41, ll. 7-8. *And to what author . . . and in what book*, The reference may perhaps be to John Knox and his *History* referred to in a preceding note. St. John says that Holt White, another editor of Milton, conjectured that the work here referred to is the posthumous portion of Coke's *Institutes*, first printed in 1641.

P. 41, l. 12. *Iron moulds*, Rust ; mildew ; i.e. such as cancers.

P. 41, l. 13. *Periods*, Sentences.

P. 41, l. 15. *The orphan remainders etc.*, The posthumous works of great authors.

P. 41, ll. 17-21. *Henceforth . . . request*, Bitterly sarcastic.

P. 41, l. 20. *Dunce*, The irony about this word is that it is derived from the name of Duns Scotus, a very great logician of the Middle Ages.

P. 42, l. 1. *I cannot set so light by*, I cannot undervalue so much.

P. 42, ll. 3-4. *As that . . . soever*, As to think that any twenty men can in themselves comprise *all* the wit and genius that is in all England.

P. 42, ll. 2-3. *The invention . . . England*, In his *Reason of Church Government*, Milton speaks with respect of the intellectual power and moral character of his countrymen.

P. 42, l. 4. *Twenty*, The number is given with loose accuracy. The licensers appointed by the Act of 1643 seem to have numbered nearly twenty-seven.

P. 42, l. 6. *Strainers*, Metaphor for *expurgation*.

P. 42, ll. 6-7. *That it should . . . stamp*, That it should not pass into circulation until stamped with their *Imprimatur*.

P. 42, l. 8. *Monopolized*, The age of State monopolies, which has been so odious, had just passed away. (*Manual stamp* is their signature.)

P. 42, l. 9. *Tickets*, Acknowledgments for goods obtained on credit,—or labels describing the quality of goods. The first of these two explanations—it is given by Holt White—is better.

P. 42, l. 9. *Statutes*, This is explained by Holt White as “securities given for debts contracted by purchase of merchandise.”

P. 42, l. 9. *Standards*, Rules as to weight, measure etc.

P. 42, l. 10. *Stapler*, Fixed market-place or emporium for particular commodities. “Staple commodities” are the particular fixed goods found in such a market. Formerly particular kinds of goods were allowed to be exported only from particular sea-ports.

P. 42, l. 13. *Philistines*, An alien nation in the south-west of Palestine, neighbours and enemies of the Israelites! (The word is now used of persons deficient in liberal culture. In this sense it was first used by Matthew Arnold).

P. 42, ll. 12-13. *Like that imposed by the Philistines*, See *1 Samuel XIII*, 19-22. On the conquest of the Israelites by the Philistines, the latter removed all the smiths from the conqueror’s country to prevent the making of swords and spears and the Israelites had to go to the Philistines to get their knives and axes sharpened.

P. 42, l. 14. *Coulters*, (Latin : *culter*) The iron cutter in front of a ploughshare. Also spelt *colter*.

P. 42, l. 15. *Twenty licensing forges*, Twenty licensers, with their furnaces heated to sharpen or mutilate our books.

P. 42, l. 1. *Divulged*, Published.

P. 42, l. 3. *Esteem had of his reason*, The esteem in which his reason (or reasoning faculty) is held.

P. 42, l. 21. *Whose hand should be annexed*, Whose signature should be added.

P. 42, l. 21. *To pass his credit for him*, To certify to the credit or trustworthiness as an author.

P. 43, l. 3. *Diffident and suspectful*, Distrustful and suspicious.

P. 43, l. 4. *May plainly . . . it is*. May clearly be seen to be a great degradation. "Disparagement" is literally a *wrong pairing* or a *mésalliance*—hence an unworthy association that degrades or leads to depreciation or lowering of character or reputation.

P. 43, ll. 8-9. *If we so jealous over them*, This is what Milton wrote and Professor Hales interprets *Jealous*, as a verb, on a Scotch analogy. But most editors read *If we be so jealous*.

P. 43, l. 11. *Ungrounded*, Not grounded on good moral principles.

P. 43 l. 13. *Through the pipe*, This refers to the pipe used by former physicians for feeding a patient too weak to swallow.

P. 43, ll. 17-18. *Nor that neither*, Nor that *either* i.e. and it does not do even that. This use of the double negative is common in Older English, as also in Greek.

P. 43, l. 20. *It reflects to*, Modern idiom is: "it reflects on", but then the following part would be altered, *viz.* it would rather be: "it reflects on the good repute etc."

P. 43, l. 24. *They should be still frequented etc.*, That those who frequent their churches should be so unprincipled and ignorant men and such a worthless rabble.

P. 43, l. 25. *Laic*, Laymen, from Greek *laicos*, *pertaining to the people* (as opposed to *clerical*), but carrying a depreciatory sense about it. Cf. the word *lewd*, which is similar in origin, with a similar depreciatory note about it.

P. 43, l. 26. *The whiff of every new pamphlet*, Cf. *Ephesians* IV, 14: "Every wind of doctrine."

P. 43, l. 29-P. 44, l. 1. *Low conceit*, Low opinion or conception.

P. 44, l. 2. *They are not thought fit*, i.e. their hearers are not thought fit.

P. 44, l. 7. *One single Enchiridion*, One single hand-book (from Greek *encheiridion*, Greek *cheir*, a hand). The word *Enchiridion* also means a *dagger*, and the use of the word *armour* shows that a *pun* or double meaning is intended. The name *Enchiridion* is specifically given to the manual of the

precepts of Epictetus, the slave-philosopher, compiled by his disciple Arrian.

P. 44, l. 7. *The castle of St. Angelo*, The huge Mausoleum of Hadrian, later on rebuilt into a fortress by the Popes, and so called because of the figure of a winged angel on its summit. The expression is used here of the sense of security which such a castle would give, only this castle of security is in the form of a papal *Imprimatur*—the *Imprimatur* of the licensers appointed by Parliament being as bad as a papal *Imprimatur*.

P. 44, l. 10. *Mere flourishes*, Mere show,—mere flashes without any reality. The word had also the meaning of a *blast* on the trumpets, and *mere trumpetings* is an interpretation that may possibly suit the context.

P. 44, l. 14. *Their learned men*, Milton had met during his Italian tour, besides Galileo, persons like Jacob Gaddi, Prescobaldi, Lucas Holstein etc. (See *Second Defence: Pro Populo Anglicano*).

P. 44, l. 21. *Fustian*, Bombast; ranting speeches. (Originally *fustian* is a coarse cloth for stuffing or padding.)

P. 44, l. 22. *Galileo* (1564-1642), the great mathematician, physicist, and astronomer, and the practical inventor of the telescope. His observations brought him into conflict with the Inquisition and in 1633 he was compelled to repudiate the Copernican theory about the earth moving round the sun and was sent to prison, where Milton seems to have met him on his Italian tour in 1638. At that time, Galileo cannot be said to have been strictly a prisoner, but in *libera custodia*, i.e. free with a certain restraint on his movements.

P. 45, l. 3. *Those worthies*, The leaders of the Long Parliament like Pym, Hampden, Selden, Falkland, etc.

P. 45, l. 5. *Such a deliverance*, i.e. the successful deliverance from royal and church tyranny.

P. 45, ll. 10-11. *In time of Parliament*, Under the Stuart rule there had sometimes been no session of Parliament, especially from 1629 to 1640, which was the reason for the passing of the Triennial Act.

P. 44, ll. 22-24. *For thinking . . . thought*, He held the Copernican view, while the orthodox view of the church and the friars (Franciscans as well as Dominicans) was that of the

Ptolemaic Hypothesis, which was that the Sun went round the Earth. Though knowing the truth of the Copernican theory, as his visit to Galileo would prove, Milton himself used the Ptolemaic Hypothesis in his *Paradise Lost*, as being perhaps the more poetical and in accord with Scriptural tradition.

P. 45, ll. 11-21. *And that so generally . . . thralldom upon learning*. This is rather a grandiloquent comparison that Milton makes here of himself with Cicero, and stating that his friends asked him to be champions of their cause against the tyranny of licensing, as Cicero was urged to be their champion against the tyrant Verres by the people of Sicily. There is no record of Milton being asked by anybody to be champion in their cause. He had a personal grievance to urge him to write rather any other people's requests.

P. 45, ll. 13-15. *He whom an honest quaestorship . . . Verres*. Cicero distinguished himself at the beginning of his official career by the integrity with which he administered his duties of Quaestor in Sicily in 75 B.C. A *quaestor* was a finance or revenue officer, who acted as Treasurer or Revenue Officer under a provincial governor or as paymaster of the forces under a Roman general. Cicero had become so popular in Sicily that in 70 B.C., he was invited by the people of Sicily to become their advocate and undertake on their behalf in the Roman Senate the impeachment of a particularly oppressive governor named C. Verres. Some time after the commencement of the impeachment, Verres went into voluntary exile, seeing the mass of evidence accumulated against him by Cicero. Milton compares his championship of the cause of the liberty of the Press to Cicero's championship of the cause of the people of Sicily.

P. 45, l. 15. *Verres*. Proprætor or governor of Sicily in 73 B.C., notorious for his extortionate rule and spoliation of art treasures. See note above.

P. 46, l. 1. *Disburdening etc.*. The expression of a personal whim of my own.

P. 46, l. 1. *And that we are so timorous*. And in case we are so timorous.

P. 46, ll. 9-10. *Shaking of every leaf*. Probably a pun on the word *leaf* is intended—(1) leaves of a tree and (2) pages of a book.

P. 46, l. 11. *Little better than silence*, in Laud's regime, Presbyterian preachers had little liberty: they were almost silenced.

P. 46, l. 14. *A second tyranny*, The first tyranny was that of Laud and the bishops. The second would be that of the Presbyterians.

P. 46, l. 15. *Bishops and Presbyters thing*, Cf. Milton's remark in *New Forces of Conscience under the Long Parliament*, viz. "New Presbyter is but an old Priest writ large"—since *Priest* is a shortened form of *Presbyter*. The Puritans used to maintain that Presbyters and Bishops were the same, and in his *Prelatical Episcopacy*, Milton urged this point. In the present context however there is a tinge of sarcasm and jocularly, and the suggestion is that not only is the *Presbyter* historically the same as a *Bishop*, but that morally too, he has inherited the same tyranny. It should be noted that from an Anglican, Milton had become a Presbyterian, and from a Presbyterian, he was soon to become an *Independent*, really an Independent School of Protestantism that went far beyond Presbyterianism.

P. 46, l. 18. *Prelaty*, Prelacy. See. Seat of a bishop.

P. 47, l. 4. *Diocese*, Properly the district over which a bishop's jurisdiction extends.

P. 47, l. 5. *Mystical pluralist*, because he retains first his pastorship and secondly his jurisdiction over books—thus he has a *plural* jurisdiction. (*Mystical* = extraordinary; mysterious.)

P. 47, ll. 5-10. *He who but of late authors that write them*, The Puritans had long resented the double right the Anglican bishops had claimed of (1) being the sole persons authorised to ordain (or admit to the ranks of the priesthood), fresh university graduates and (2) having the exclusive right of spiritual jurisdiction over the men and women of their diocese. This *double* claim was denounced as a *plurality* of office. Milton himself had in his former tracts attacked this claim. Keeping this in mind, in the present context Milton says: "You denounced the double jurisdiction the Anglican bishops had claimed of (1) exercising exclusive spiritual jurisdiction and (2) claiming the right to ordain priests out of new-fledged bachelors of arts—and now that the bishops are gone, you

yourselves claim a double jurisdiction first over your parishioners and secondly over books and authors. Milton's argument is to show the inconsistency between what the Puritans had formerly preached and what they now practise when placed in the seat of authority.

P. 47, ll. 9-10. *This is not have made*, This is not acting in the spirit of the covenant which the Presbyterians had made when resisting the authority of the king in spiritual matters. The reference is to the *Solemn League and Covenant* signed between the Parliament and the Scotch in 1643. Or it may have reference to the *Grand Remonstrance* passed by Parliament in 1641.

P. 47, l. 11. *Protestations*, This may refer either to the "covenant" or "the Grand Remonstrance" or to a Protestation, signed by Lords and Commons in 1641 to uphold the Protestant religion, freedom of Parliament etc.

P. 47, l. 12. *Chop*, Barter; exchange (the root of the word is found in *cheapen*, *Cheapside* etc.).

P. 47, l. 12. *Chop an Episcopacy*, Institute a new kind of episcopal tyranny in exchange for the old. (Refer to Milton's anti-episcopal tracts discussed in the *Introduction*.)

P. 47, l. 13. *Palace Metropolitan*, Lambeth palace, the official residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is styled Metropolitan and Primate.

P. 47, l. 14. *An old canonical sleight*, A well-known trick allowed by the canon law.

P. 47, l. 14. *Canonical*, Referring to canon law. *Canon law* is church law, introduced into Europe by Gratian about 1151. Part of it consisted of the Pope's decrees, edicts or promulgations.

P. 47, l. 15. *Commuting our penances*, Paying a sum of money to obtain a dispensation from penance, fasting etc.

P. 47, l. 15. *Startle*, Be startled. (The verb is used intransitively.)

P. 47, l. 16. *Will afterwards be afraid of*, Will afterwards lead to the fear of.

P. 47, l. 17. *Conventicle*, (Originally a diminutive of *convent* i.e. a meeting or coming together) Church-meeting; prayer

meetings of Nonconformist sects. (Cf. the expression *Con-venticle Act*.)

P. 48, ll. 1-2. *Church built upon the rock*, What is built upon, or has its foundations on rock is lasting. Milton is thinking of Christ's words in *Matthew XVI*, 18, where turning to Peter, Christ said: "And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church". When Christ said this he was playing on the name of Peter and the Greek word *petra*, which means *rock*.

P. 48, l. 4. *That freedom of writing, etc.*, The fact that freedom of writing, etc.

P. 48, l. 8. *Who cannot but discern*, Who must necessarily see through.

P. 48, l. 9. *The fineness of this politic drift*, The subtle cunning of this political move.

P. 48, l. 9. *Who are the contrivers*, The persons behind this plot.

P. 48, l. 10. *Baited down*, The word has reference to bear-baiting.

P. 48, l. 10. *That while . . . down*, This was the "political drift" referred to above and means *worried to death*, persecuted with a deadly hatred. At the time Milton wrote, *bear-baiting* was prohibited and illegal. But people remembered what it was, nor had it actually become obsolete.

P. 48, l. 11. *It was the people's birth right, etc.*, This is what they said. (This is *virtually* an *Indirect Speech* reporting what was said. It is a Latin construction - what in Latin syntax is called a virtual *oratio obliqua*).

P. 48, l. 13. *The bishops abrogated*, (*Nominative Absolute*), The bishops being abrogated, i.e., *abolished*.

P. 48, ll. 14-15. *Voided out of Church*, (Literally, *voided* = emptied out of) Ejected from the Church.

P. 48, l. 16. *Begin to bud again*, Begin again to blossom, i.e., flourish.

P. 48, l. 16. *The cruse of trust, etc.*, Notice the *metaphor*. *Cruse* is here an earthen pot or receptacle for oil.

P. 48, ll. 16-17. *Must run no more oil*, Must have no oil as a means to burn with.

P. 48, l. 18. *Enthralled*, Enslaved.

" P. 48, l. 19. *Under a prelatical commission*, Not that the members were actually prelates, but that they were intolerant of truth like the old bishops.

P. 48, l. 20. *To her old fetters*, Be reduced again to the old restrictions.

P. 48, ll. 20-21. *All this . . . yet sitting*, All this being done at a time when the Parliament is yet in session. (*Nominative Absolute*).

P. 48, l. 21. *Although their own late, etc.*, And yet their own late, etc. (This use of *although* is according to Latin grammar.)

P. 48, ll. 22-23. *Might remember them*. Might remind. The verb "remember" was sometimes used in this sense—meaning, *cause to remember*.

P. 48, l. 23. *This obstructing violence*, This violence in suppressing books, etc. Milton argues that it defeats its own purpose. The treatment of Prynne and others finally defeated its own purpose.

P. 48, l. 26. '*The punishing of wits . . . authority*', Professor Hales quotes Tacitus: "Punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas", which means exactly what Bacon is taken to say here.

P. 48, l. 26. *Viscount St. Albans*, Lord Bacon.

P. 48, l. 27. *A forbidden writing, etc.*, This was often seen during the Great War of 1914-18 when books were suppressed under the *Defence of the Realm Act* [familiarily called D. O. R. A. or DORA]. For instance, the suppression of Joyce's *Ulysses* had the effect attributed here by Milton. Our Indian Provincial Governments ought to take a lesson from Milton!

P. 48, ll. 29-30. *Tread it out*, Crush it.

P. 48, ll. 30-41. *A nursing mother to sects*, (metaphor), i.e., will foster or promote the growth of sects. Milton probably has in his mind Horace's expression: *arida nutrix*, "a dry nurse" and the opposite of it would be a "wet nurse", or "nursing mother". But the expression "nursing mother" is used in *Isaiah XLIX, 23*.

P. 48, l. 31. *Stepdame*, Proverbial for her cruelty to stepchildren, among all nations—and therefore a contrast to "nursing mother". Prof. Hales quotes Greek and Latin authorities in illustration of step-motherly cruelty. Ovid wrote (*Metamor-*

phoses I) that step-mothers mixed aconite (i.e. wolf's bane) with their step-children's food.

P. 48, l. 32. *First by disabling.* First it will render us unfit to retain the truths we know,—and secondly, it will be injurious to the search for new truths in future.

P. 48, l. 32. *Disabling us,* Disabling us; making us unable to.

P. 48, l. 32. *To the maintenance of,* With regard to the preservation or defence of. We would say “disable from”.

P. 48, l. 33. *What is known already.* Truths already known.

P. 49, l. 3. *Complexion,* Used in the older sense of *constitution*. The word is found used in this sense by Bacon and Shakespeare (e.g. Bacon in: *Advancement of Learning*. Book I, writes ‘Empirical physician’s . . . know neither the causes of diseases nor the complexions of patients’).

P. 49, l. 3. *Truth is compared, etc.,* Cf.: *Psalms*, LXXXV, 11, “Truth shall spring out of the earth”.

P. 49, l. 6. *May be a heretic in the truth.* This is explained below. Milton means a man may be a believer in the truth, but if this belief of his is not founded in conviction, but is taken up only on the authority of his pastor, this belief will amount to a heresy—for it is not real faith grounded in conviction—rather a subtle argument and not quite convincing!

P. 49, l. 8. *Assembly.* The supreme ecclesiastic body governing a Presbyterian nation, as in the Free Church of Scotland.

P. 49, l. 10. *Becomes his heresy,* Locke in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, Book IV, chapter 19, argues in the same strain. He says “there are very few lovers of truth for truth’s sake, even among people who persuade themselves that they are so. Unless a man is careful not to entertain a proposition with greater assurance than the proofs will warrant, he cannot be said to be a lover of truth for truth’s sake, but for some other by-end”.

P. 49, ll. 12-13. *There be, who knows not there be?* There are, and every one knows that there are many who, etc.

P. 49, ll. 13-14. *Of protestants and professors . . . Loretto,* This is an instance of the use of the *Partitive Genitive* in Latin Grammar. Some word like *many* or *several* is to be supplied—so that the sentence will read: “several men among Protestants,

etc. who live and die." The point in the sentence lies in the fact that since the time of Luther, Protestants and others had refused to take a truth on the authority of the Pope—however, this put the Bible in place of the Pope and as Mr. Wingfield Stratford wittily remarks they substituted the tyranny of a book in place of the tyranny of the Pope.

P. 49, l. 13. *Professors*, Puritans.

P. 49, l. 14. *Errant*, This word is probably not the same as errant, meaning "wandering or vagabond—and so worthless". It is probably a distinct word of Anglo-Saxon origin, perhaps from *earg*, bad.

P. 49, l. 14. *Implicit faith*, Passively believed truth,—faith that one accepts without question on other people's authority.

P. 49, l. 14. *Lay Papist*, In one of his later pamphlets called *Likeliest means*, Milton describes a *Lay Papist* as the *vassal* of his priest. A *lay papist* is therefore a priest—ridden layman, like the *laymen* in the Catholic Church.

P. 49, l. 14. *Loretto*, A town near Ancona—one of the centres of medieval superstition. In the Middle Ages people made pilgrimages to Loretto, on account of the supposition that the *Santa Casa*, the holy cottage of the Virgin Mary, was in that town, the very house where she was acclaimed to be the mother of the Messiah and where he was born. It was said that by a miracle, the angels had removed her cottage from Palestine and brought it to Loretto, because the Saracens had destroyed the shrine which the Empress Helena had built over her cottage. Milton did not believe this story, which he took as a fabrication of the medieval priests.

P. 49, l. 14. *Lay Papist of Loretto*, Very superstitious laymen who believe in every superstition like those about the shrine of the Holy Virgin at Loretto, as falsely propagated by the medieval priests of the Catholic Church.

P. 49, l. 17. *Piddling accounts*, Petty accounts. Professor Hales suggests the word *piddling* (which Milton uses also in another pamphlet) is connected with the French word *petit* = petty or trivial. But the word may perhaps be the same as *peddling* meaning "dealing in trifles" or "retailing small quantities of smallware", the word being derived from *ped*, a basket in

which such goods are carried, or *pes* (*ped*), a foot, because the dealer travels on foot.

P. 49, l. 17. *Mysteries*, Crafts, trade. (Old English *mester*, a trade or craft, from Latin *ministerium*).

P. 49, ll. 17-18. *That of all . . . that trade*, That among all trades, in this particular trade (*viz* : *religion*) he does not know how to keep his business going.

P. 49, l. 17. *Skills not*, Has not skill enough to ; Is not skilful enough. This use of *skill* as a verb has the meaning of *know* or *have knowledge* and it is pretty common in Elizabethan English. As an Impersonal Verb, *viz.*, in the form, *it skills not*, the meaning often is "it makes no difference".

P. 49, l. 20. *Bear up with*, Keep pace with ; keep abreast with.

P. 49, ll. 20-21. *What does he therefore but resolves*. According to modern usage, we should expect *resolve*, as an infinitive depending on the auxiliary *does*. In the sentence in the text, the construction is a bit confused. Milton seems to have begun with *does* as an auxiliary, but before the end of the sentence he has changed his tacks and seems to treat the word *does* as verb of complete predication.

P. 50, l. 1. *some factor*, Some agent ; some broker.

P. 50, l. 4. *The whole . . . religion*, Notice the contemptuous language used. The man is rich, but is, as Matthew Arnold would have said, a Philistine. He looks even upon religion as something material to be kept in a warehouse—i.e. Milton contemptuously makes the worldly rich man to look upon religion in a worldly way.

P. 50, l. 7. *Commendatory*, (Here used as *noun*—nowadays used as an adjective) commendation.

P. 50, l. 9. *Become a dividual movable*, i.e., his religion has become something (1) that can be *separated* (i.e. that which can be dividable, opposed to *individual*, that which cannot be divided), and (2) something which can be moved away (=*movable*) or detached from himself, (Milton's contention is that a man cannot be separated from his religion). Milton has used the word *dividual* in different contexts as meaning different things, *viz.* (1) *separable* as here, or (2) that which can be divided or shared among several persons or things (Cf. : *Paradise Lost* VII,

382, where the moon's reign is described as *dividual* with the lesser lights (i.e. stars) i.e. *shared with star light*. The wealthy man's religion is stated to have become *dividual* and movable, because his spiritual adviser has become his religion and this adviser can go about.

P. 50, ll. 12-13. *His religion is liberally supped*, His man of religion is generally given a good supper.

P. 50, l. 14. *Malmsey*, (from French *malvoise*), A sweet strong light-coloured liquor, first brought to England from the Morea in Greece. Chaucer uses the form *malvesie*. The name was derived from *Malvasia*, a town on the east coast of the Morea. It will be recollected that Richard III, as Duke of Gloucester caused his elder brother the Duke of Clarence to be drowned in a cask of malmsey wine.

P. 50, l. 14. *After the malmsey*, Practically means: "after breakfast where malmsey is drunk".

P. 50, ll. 14-15. *Well-spiced bruage*, "Bruage" is *beverage*. Wines were often spiced or perfumed.

P. 50, ll. 15-16. *Than He whose morning appetite*, i.e. than Christ.

P. 50, ll. 15-16. *He whose . . . green figs*, This refers to Christ, who on the way from Jerusalem to Bethany saw a fig tree and came to it, but found no fruit, and he cursed the tree and it withered away, (*Matthew*, XXI, 17-69 and *Mark*, XI, 11-14). Milton means these priests are better fed and entertained than Christ was whose priests they pretend to be.

P. 50, l. 17. *Bethany*, A place near Jerusalem; to which Christ went with the twelve disciples, (*Matthew*, XXI, 17 and *Mark*, XI, 11) when the miracle of the withering of the fig-tree took place.

P. 50, l. 17. *His religion walks abroad at eight, etc.*, This passage is the most interesting piece of satire to be found in the *Areopagitica*. The satire begins from the sentence: "He entertains him, gives him gifts, etc." and continues to the end of the paragraph. 'His religion' means the "man who constitutes his religion" i.e. "his religious adviser"—in other words his priest or bishop who does his religious thinking for him, and whose views he accepts in all things. Milton suggests that the English merchant begins and ends his day with hospitality to his priest,

or man of religion, and continues to cheat in business most ir-religiously the livelong day.

P. 50, ll. 22-23. *Through the custom-house . . . publicans*, i.e. what is passed by the licensers. The term *publicans* meant in Roman History men (generally of knightly rank) who took up government contracts for the collection of different kinds of taxes in the Roman Empire, especially in the east. They were often banded into companies and "farmed out" the taxes, paying a lump sum to government for a term of years and taking the balance that remained, collected according to the government schedule, to themselves as profit. These men were therefore most hated in the Roman provinces: Shakespeare uses the word in *The Merchant of Venice*, where Shylock speaks of Antonio, the Merchant of Venice, "how like a fawning publican he looks". Some of the *publicans* collected the *customs duty*: hence the appropriateness of the expression as used by Milton here, though he means the licenser of books.

P. 50, l. 23-24. *The tonnage and poundage of free-spoken truth*, Milton means illegal exactions against the free communication of thought. But Milton speaks in terms of the Customs duties levied by the British Kings from Tudor times without reference to Parliament. It consisted of a duty of 1/6 to 3/- (shillings) on every ton of wine imported and from six pence to a shilling on every pound of dry goods. It became a cause of quarrel between Parliament and King Charles I, alongside of the Ship-Money tax which was also imposed without reference to Parliament, and which on that account was resisted by Hampden. It will be remembered that King Charles I carried on his government from 1628 to 1640 without calling any meeting of Parliament, acting under the advice of the Earl of Strafford. In the long run, the Long Parliament came to power, arrested Strafford, tried and executed him and the war between King and Parliament followed, which ended in the execution of the King. These duties therefore had played an important role in English History and Milton has all these things in his mind when he refers to *tonnage and poundage*.

P. 50, ll. 25-26. *Make 'em and cut . . . please,** There are people who will leave it to Parliament to shape their religion for

them. Here *'em*= them and is a reflexive pronoun, meaning "for themselves".

P. 50, l. 26—P. 51, l. 1. *There be delights dream*, They will give themselves to enjoyment from day to day and year to year, spending all the time in pleasure, without the labour to think for themselves.

P. 51, l. 2. *What need they torture, etc.*, Why need they torture, etc. Here *What*, as often in Latin speeches (e.g. in Cicero) means "What for?" or "Why?"

P. 51, ll. 3-4. *Their own purveying*, Their own management.

P. 51, ll. 6-9. *How goodly freeze together*, The whole passage is ironical.

P. 51, l. 8. *Starch us all into*, Stiffen us all into. There will arise a conformity under which we will become stiff and motionless, without the impulse of independent thought.

P. 51, ll. 8-9. *Doubtless together*, The whole nation will be frozen into a stiffness and inertness, as in the frosts of January all nature becomes stiff and ice-bound.

P. 51, l. 12. *Parochial minister*, A parson in charge of a parish.

P. 51, l. 13. *At his Hercules' pillars*, i.e., has reached the furthest point of his ambitions. Hercules is said to have travelled up to what we now call Gibraltar, with the rocks of Calpe and Abyla on the two sides of the Straits of Gibraltar. Hercules is stated to have gone there in quest of the cows of Apollo which were robbed by the giant Geryon (or *Geryones*), a monster with three heads or according to others, with three bodies united together. In honour of having reached the western boundaries of the world where the great Ocean began, he is said to have erected these pillars, Calpe and Abyla, which came to be called the Pillars of Hercules, a term which metaphorically or in a transferred sense signifies the extreme limit of one's ambition, as it was the westernmost limit of the wanderings of Hercules.

P. 51, l. 13. *In a warm benefice*, i.e. when such a parson has obtained a comfortable living.

P. 51, l. 15. *Finish his circuit*, Conclude his studies.

P. 51, l. 15. *Concordance*, An index or dictionary of the leading words or passages of a book, especially the Bible. There were even in Milton's day in existence Latin and other con-

cordances of the Bible. Milton is clearly referring here to an English Bible Concordance, which existed in his time. The most famous English Concordance of the Bible is that published in 1737 by Alexander Cruden (1701-1770), a bookseller in the Royal Exchange. Another Concordance famous next after Cruden's is Cowden Clarke's *Shakespeare Concordance*.

P. 51, l. 16. *Topic folio*, Commonplace books, in which trite sayings, quotations, memoranda etc. are noted down. Milton himself kept such a commonplace book, which was published by the Camden Society.

P. 51, ll. 16-17. *The gatherings graduateship*, Things which the clergyman has gathered together in a steady University career.

P. 51, l. 17. *A Harmony*, A handbook bringing into agreement apparently contradictory or incongruous passages from the Scriptures, especially the four Gospels, and kept summarised in a lucid, harmonious way. Such a "harmony" of the four gospels (Matthew, Mark etc.) was called a *diatesseron*. The earliest, that of Tatian, dates about 110-180 A.D.

P. 51, l. 17. *A Catena*, (Latin *catena* = chain) A "chain" of extracts, from authorities, arranged in a systematic way for proof. One of the most famous was the *Catena Aurea* ("Golden Chain") of Thomas Aquinas.

P. 51, ll. 18-19. *Attended means*, Accompanied by comments on the uses and purposes of various church dogmas and forms and the distinctive "marks" or characteristics of the true Christian and the means for winning divine grace.

P. 51, l. 20. *Sol fa*, The notes of the scale of music or gamut.

P. 51, ll. 19-23. *Out of which, as out of an alphabet sermoning*, Milton means that by a judicious permutation and combination of the contents of a concordance or commonplace book, (as if they formed various letters of the alphabet or notes in the gamut,) the parson can without much study or mental power obtain enough material for preparing his weekly sermon. It will require only some skill in manipulating books and a meditation of two hours in the week.

P. 52, l. 1. *Interlinearies*, Line-beneath-line translations.

P. 52, l. 1. *Breviaries*, Abridgements ; compendiums (from Latin *brevis*, brief).

P. 52, l. 1. *Synopses*, Summaries ; general view of a subject (Literally, *a viewing together*).

P. 52, l. 2. *Other loitering gear*, Other kinds of apparatus for lazy people. Milton uses the expression : "loitering books and interlineary translations" in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*. The word *gear* is used in a general sense for almost any thing. Its proper meaning is a *preparation*, some apparatus, stuff, tackle etc. kept ready.

P. 52, ll. 1-2. *Infinite help . . . loitering gear*, Earle, in his *Microcosmographie*, or a *Piece of the World Discovered* gives the picture of a "young raw preacher", as a young bird not yet fledged, who being backward in the university is forward in the world, whose "collections of study are the notes of sermons, which taken up at St. Mary's, he utters in the country . . . His writing is more than his reading, for he reads only what he gets without book etc."

P. 52, l. 4. *Over London trading*, The exact meaning of this passage is obscure, but the general sense is that certain places within the holy limits of our churches in London are as well stocked with a variety of printed and piled-up sermons as with any other goods whatever." The sense of the particular terms or allusions is obscure. The implications are (1) that there is a great market in printed sermons ; (2) that the holy precincts, of the churches are full of this printed stuff ; (3) that these books of sermons on different texts take up more space in church libraries than any other books that really matter ; and (4) there is perhaps also the suggestion that much buying and selling of various commodities took place in the open grounds about these churches : but (5) the business in sermon-buying and sermon-selling preponderated over all other business there. It is to be noted that in the old days a good deal of trade went around the church premises.

P. 52, l. 4. *St. Thomas*, It is not certain what church is meant, but probably this refers to the church of St. Thomas Apostle in Knightriders Street in Vintry Ward, mentioned in Stowe's *Survey of London*.

P. 52, l. 5. *St. Martin*. This may refer to the *Church of St. Martin le Grand*, but there were other churches in London named after St. Martin.

P. 52, l. 5. *St. Hugh*. No church of this name is known to have existed in London. Prof. Hales suggests that "St. Hugh" may stand for Lincoln, where the cathedral is dedicated to St. Hugh.

P. 52, l. 4. *In his Vestry*. Vestry is properly that room adjoining a church in which the vestments were kept and parish meetings held. The word Vestry is derived from Latin *vesti-arium*, a place for clothes. It is possible, that, as Mr. Lobb suggests, Milton may be using the word *Vestry* in the present context in the sense of a *clothes-mart*. [What Milton exactly means by (1) *in his vestry* and by (2) *Our London trading etc.* cannot be explained by any editor.]

P. 52, l. 6. *Vendible wares*, Saleable goods.

P. 52, ll. 7-8. *So that penury . . . magazine*, Thus the young preacher need have no fear of his stock of sermons coming to an end, since his stores can be plentifully supplied.

P. 52, l. 9. *But if his . . . impaled*, (Military metaphor) If he is not protected against an assault by an original critic on his rear or on his flanks.

P. 52, l. 9. *Impaled*, Protected by *palisades* or stockades.

P. 52, l. 9. *If his back . . . licenser*, If there was not a licenser to secure him from an attack in the rear.

P. 52, l. 9. *Back-door*, The postern, or rear gate in a fortress.

P. 52, ll. 11-12. *Some of . . . trenches*, This word keeps up the military metaphor introduced above.

P. 52, ll. 12-13. *It will concern . . . waking*, Then he will have to take care and remain awake to the reception of new ideas.

P. 52, l. 12. *It will concern him*, It will become necessary for him.

P. 52, ll. 13-14. *Watch . . . guards and sentinels, etc.*, These words keep up the military *metaphor*, which extends till "exercised and disciplined."

P. 52, ll. 17-19. *And God send . . . church?* May God grant that our fear of having to remain so watchful does not

make us weakly to adopt this lazy policy of licensing initiated from the system of the Catholic Church. Professor Hales reads *iend* instead of *send*, which would mean, "may God forbend" i.e. "may God forbid that etc.". It really seems better in harmony with the meaning than the expression "God send". In any case, in the old manuscripts the letters *s* and *f* were written almost alike, only a small cross bar distinguishing the *f* from the *s*.

P. 52, l. 21. *Hold the truth guiltily*, (Cf. *Romans* I, 18, "hold the truth in unrighteousness") Hold the truth with a consciousness of hypocrisy. Milton is speaking here not of a sinful life, but rather of a lukewarmness in our convictions, and lack of sincerity.

P. 52, ll. 22-23. *The people . . . rout*, i.e. condemn the people as a "gadding rout" i.e. as idle fellows, who go about loafing, without any serious outlook.

P. 52, l. 23. *Gadding*, Roving.

P. 52, ll. 25-26. *As good as their's who taught*, With a conscientiousness quite as remarkable as that of the old teachers and apostles.

P. 53, ll. 3-4. *Christ urged . . . public*, Christ urged that the fact that he was preaching in public was a proof that he had nothing to hide and that was enough to justify him. The reference is to *John* XVIII, 19, 20: "I spake *openly* to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing."

P. 53, l. 8. *Imputed*, Ascribed as the cause. Instead of "what can be imputed" in modern English we would prefer to say: "To what can it be imputed etc."

P. 53, l. 9. *Disinured*, (Cf. *disexercised* used before). Put out of practice or exercise.

P. 53, ll. 10-11. *What we seem to know*, Milton distinguishes between *true* knowledge and *seeming* knowledge.

P. 53, l. 11. *For how much it hurts . . . I insist not*, "This is a typical Latinised complex periodic sentence, with the *noun clause*, object of "I insist not" going before, instead of following, as in the normal order of English syntax, meaning: "I insist

not (i.e. I do not urge) as to how much it hurts and hinders . . . so that of necessity they must neglect etc."

P. 53, l. 11. *For how much it hurts*. As to how much it hurts. But *for* may be taken as the ordinary illative conjunction, introducing a fresh reason and inference.

P. 53, ll. 15-16. *Because it is particular*. Because it is a particular application of my general statement.

P. 53, l. 19. *Plot of licensing*. Plan of putting up licensers (with a slight suggestion of the sense of a conspiracy).

P. 54, ll. 1-2. *Stop up*, Blockade.

P. 54, l. 4. *Richest merchandise*. Something that should be bought at the highest price. Cf. *Matthew XIII*, 45, 46.

P. 54, ll. 4-5. *Anti-Christian malice and mystery*, i.e. the Catholic church who maliciously and in a cunning manner tried by means of licensing and inquisition to stop the progress of Protestantism. The Protestants of Milton's time considered the Catholic church as "unchristian" and identified it with the Babylon of St. John's *Revelation*.

P. 54, ll. 6-7. *Settle falsehood*, Fortify false doctrines and cause them to stand (*settle* = establish).

P. 54, l. 8. *Alcoran*, The Koran. The prefix *al* is found also in words like *algebra*, *alchemy* etc. and is the Arabic article meaning *the*. Literally *alcoran* = *the* Koran i.e. *the* book, just as the word *Bible* also means "*the* book" (from Greek *biblios*, a book).

P. 54, l. 8. *By the prohibiting of printing*. Lobb and Osborn give a note to the effect that *printing* was not allowed in Turkey till 1723 and that *newspapers* appeared there in 1831. We have lived to see a change even in the Turkish policy on this question. The late Sultan Abdul Hamid tried to avail himself of the civilizing influence of the press, but was defeated by bigotry. His successor Mahmud pursued the same policy with better success. It was not however for religious reasons that printing was prohibited in Turkey. Under Kemal Pasha and his successors of course the Turkish press has become free.

P. 54, ll. 13-14. *He who thinks we are to pitch etc.*, This point was urged by Milton in his earlier pamphlet, *Of Reformation in England*.

P. 54, l. 14. *Utmost prospect*. Utmost or largest possible view.

P. 54, l. 15. *Mortal glass*, Glass is *looking-glass*, as often in Elizabethan English. Cf. Gascoigne's *Steel Glass*. *Mortal glass* is the looking-glass of mortality through which we can see things only in a blurred manner. *Vide I Corinthians XIII*, 12 : "For now we see through (= by means of) a glass, darkly ; but then face to face."

P. 54, l. 16. *Beatific vision*, The blessed sight of God ; the near vision of God, face to face, as described by Dante in his *Paradiso*. The angels and the saints enjoy this near vision and through it supreme blessedness.

P. 54, ll. 18-19. *With her divine master*, i.e. with Christ.

P. 54, l. 20. *When he ascended*, i.e. ascended to heaven after the crucifixion.

P. 54, ll. 20-21. *Were laid asleep* (Euphemism), Died.

P. 54, ll. 22-25. *As that story goes . . . four winds*, This refers to the story of the Egyptian god Osiris (the supreme god of the Egyptian Mythology), whose wife was Isis and son Horus. Typhon was the brother of Osiris who rebelled against his brother, murdered him and seized his power. Isis made a long search, found her husband's mangled remains and with the help of her son Horus defeated Typhon. The story is really a myth of the sun-god. This Typhon was often identified with Typhoeus, a giant of Greek Mythology, where Typhoeus tried to usurp Jupiter's power, but the latter hurled him down with his thunder-bolt. Osiris is described as a god of light and civilisation.

P. 54, ll. 23-24. *Took the virgin Truth etc.*, As Typhon destroyed and mutilated the limbs of Osiris, these men (*viz.* the wicked race of deceivers) destroyed and mutilated Truth.

P. 55, l. 1. *Careful search*, Careful is *not* used in the sense of *thorough* or *accurate*, but rather of *anxious*, or *care-stricken*.

P. 55, ll. 4-5. *Her second Master's coming*. The coming back again of Christ, in which the Christians piously believed. *Vide I Thessalonians IV*, 16-17 : "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven etc."

P. 55, ll. 5-6. *Every joint and member*, i.e. of Truth. "Member" means a *limb*.

P. 55, l. 6. *Feature* (Late Latin *factura*, make or shape, from *facio*, I make) Form.

P. 55, l. 8. *Every place of opportunity*, Every coign of vantage.

P. 55, l. 10. *Obsequies*, Funeral rites, here the picking up of the scattered limbs of truth. Professor Hales strangely explains the word as meaning "acts of worship" or adoration, and he derives it (as used here, from Latin, *obsequium*, meaning praise or flattery.) The original meaning of *Obsequium* is *following*. Hence the English word *obsequies*, literally the respectful following of the dead body, and hence funeral obsequies. The more common Latin word in this sense is however not *obsequium*, but *exsequiae*. It is not necessary to explain the word as used here in the sense of worship or adoration, since Isis literally followed the dead remains of her husband Osiris.

P. 55, l. 10. *Our martyred saint*, Christ, but here the expression stands for Truth, the "virgin truth whose body has been hewed and scattered to the four winds." (Vide *supra*.).

P. 55, l. 12. *Smites us*, Strikes us. The verb is used metaphorically in the sense in which a dazzling or blinding light causes a shock to the eyes and forces us to close down our eyelids. Gray wrote in his *Ode on the Progress of Poesie* about Milton that "*blasted* with excess of light, he closed his eyes in eternal night". The word *smites* is therefore used here in nearly the same sense in which Gray uses "*blasted*", though the latter word is certainly the more powerful.

P. 55, l. 13. *Combust*, (Literally *burnt by the sun*,—a term used in astrology and astronomy). When a planet is in conjunction with the sun, or apparently very near it, so as to be quite obscured by its light, it is said to be *combust*. In such a case, the planet is not farther away than $8\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of the sun. This happens often to Venus and more frequently to Mercury, which planet is otherwise nearest to the sun. The moon when in conjunction with the sun is also "*combust*"—that is when we have New Moon.

P. 55, l. 16. *Firmament*, The sky—properly the sphere to which according to the Ptolemaean system, the "fixed" stars were supposed to be attached and moving round along with it.

P. 55, ll. 16-17. *Evening or morning*. This expression refers rather to the planets than the fixed stars. It is well-known that when seen in the morning, Venus is called the *morning star*, but when seen in the evening, it is called the *evening star*. Similarly, Mercury too can be seen sometimes in the morning and sometimes in the evening and sometimes it is "combust."

P. 55, l. 20. *Unfrocking*. Frock denotes the special garments used by ecclesiastics. When a priest was disgraced and expelled from the ranks of the clergy he was said to be "unfrocked".

P. 55, l. 20. *Unmitring*. The "mitre" is the head-dress of a bishop and his expulsion from the episcopal rank meant the removal of his *mitre* or *unmitring*.

P. 55, l. 21. *Removing shoulders*. Removing him from the rank of a *presbyter*, or minister in the Presbyterian Church.

P. 55, l. 23. *Economical*. Used in the original sense of "relating to the management of a house, i.e. private life,—domestic. (From the Greek *oikos*, a house and *nomos*, law.)

P. 55, l. 24. *Zwinglius*, Zwingli (1484-1531), the Protestant reformer of Zurich in Switzerland. He was more advanced in his Protestantism than Luther, his great contemporary. He opposed the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation with greater vigour than Luther.

P. 55, l. 24. *Calvin*, (1509-1564), the great Protestant reformer of Geneva in Switzerland, which in the latter part of his life he ruled with a sort of theocratic authority. He rendered a double service to Protestantism, by systematising the doctrine and organizing its ecclesiastical discipline.

P. 55, l. 25. *Beackoned up to us*. Lighted up as a beacon for us.

P. 55, l. 25. *Hath beackoned up*. Note the use of the singular. —*ungrammatical*.

P. 55, l. 25. *That we are stark blind*, So that we have been left completely blinded under their dazzling light.

P. 56, l. 1. *There be who*. There are persons who.

P. 56, ll. 2-3. *Make it maxims*, Consider it ~~a~~ calumny or disgrace if anybody should differ from their views.

P. 56, l. 6. *Syntagma*. (*Greek*, literally something drawn up), Handbook or summary of doctrines.

P. 55, l. 6. *They are the troubles, etc.*, Milton means that these intolerant people who quarrel about unessential things in religion are the real breakers of the *unity* of the Church. They are not content with *unity* : they want a dull *uniformity* in all religious ideas. (*Vide* Bacon's *Essays*, Essay No. 3, *Of Unity in Religion*, written in 1612, re-written in 1625).

P. 56, ll. 8-9. *Unite . . . Truth*, (Milton is continuing the metaphor he began with the story of *Osiris*). Join together the different parts of the truth of religion which are still missing.

P. 56, l. 9. *Searching*, Investigating ; exploring.

P. 56, ll. 9-10. *What we know not by what we know*, It is now an admitted principle as regards education and the search for truth that we have to pass from the known to the unknown.

P. 56, l. 10. *Closing up*, Joining up.

P. 56, l. 11. *Homogeneous and proportionl, etc.*, The entire structure of truth is of the same nature (= homogeneous) throughout and one part is related to the other forming a symmetry (= proportion). Milton means "truths are related things : they fit into each other's framework : all are of the same nature : no single part is repugnant to the rest".

P. 56, l. 12. *The golden rule . . . arithmetic*, The Rule of Proportion was called "the golden rule" since it enunciates the law of harmony or proportion between different things or magnitudes. Professor Hales quotes from Bernard Smith's *Arithmetic* his statement that the *Rule of Three* which enables us to find a fourth term in proportion is on account of its extensive application called the "Golden Rule."

P. 56, l. 12. *Golden Rule in theology, etc.*, As in Arithmetic we try to search out a fourth term (by the law of proportion) from other three terms given, so in theology we try by the principle of harmony and proportion to find out the unknown parts of religious truth from those parts that are known.

P. 56, ll. 13-15. *Not the forced . . . divided minds*, See Bacon's third essay above referred to.

P. 56, l. 16. *Lords and Commons of England*, From this point, Milton begins his grand Peroration or Conclusion of the speech.* He begins it with the praise of his own country and appeals to national sentiment.

P. 56, l. 17. *Whcreof ye are, To which you belong.*

P. 56, l. 20—P. 57, l. 1. *Not bencath soar to,* Capable of understanding and appreciating the highest peaks of human speculation.

P. 57, ll. 3-6. *That writers island,* So that many ancient scholars and critics have been of the opinion that the Pythagorean philosophy (i.e. the doctrine of *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration of the Soul) and the beliefs of the Persian Magi was founded on the old Druidical cults of Great Britain.

P. 57, ll. 4-5. *The school of Pythagoras,* The reference here is not so much to the *mathematical* theories of Pythagoras—his doctrine about *Numbers* constituting the harmony of the world—but to his doctrine of Transmigration of the Soul. The ancient Druidical priests of Great Britain and of the district of Brittany on the north-west coast of France believed in this doctrine, the scientific name for which is *Metempsychosis*. Julius Caesar reports that the Druidical priests studied their theology in *Brittany*, the very name of which will show the identity in race and religion between that part of France and Great Britain, in the earliest times. But it is carrying matters too far to trace the Pythagorean doctrine from Britain. Pythagoras was probably more in touch with Egypt and the East than with the Far West that Britain represented to Greek and Roman scholars. This nonsensical idea about Pythagoras copying his doctrine from the Druids was started by the Renaissance scholar, Lipsius, who however only expressed a doubt as to whether the Druidical doctrine was copied from Pythagoras, or the Pythagorean from the Druids.

P. 57, l. 5. *The Persian wisdom,* is the far-famed learning of the *Magi* or the Persian priests, from whom also the word *magic* is derived. They had many occult beliefs. But there is no authority for the belief stated here by Milton, viz., that the Magian learning was derived from the Druids except a vague statement of the Elder Pliny in his *Natural History*, XXX, 4) (which Milton seems have in his mind) to the effect that in his day Britain honoured learning so highly that "it might seem to have bestowed it on the Persians". For the Indian student it will be of interest to note the general opinion of European orientalists that the

Atharva Veda, with its various formulae of a magical order, seems to be largely the outcome of the old Magian doctrines.

P. 57, ll. 7-8. *Civil Roman*, Cultivated Roman scholar.

P. 57, l. 8. *Agricola*, Cn. Julius Agricola (37-93 A.D.) was the father-in-law of the great Latin historian Tacitus, who has written a biography of the great man, drawing his character in the brightest colours. In 78 A.D. he became Proconsul or Roman Governor of Britain and held this office for seven years during part of the reign of three emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. There is a story that his death was due to poison administered by order of Domitian. By his wise administration, Agricola introduced among the natives of Britain the language and civilisation of Rome. Tacitus says while thus educating the sons of the British nobles, he placed a higher value on the natural talents of the Britons than on the book-learning of the Gauls, which is referred to by Milton as "laboured studies of the Gauls" (Cf. Tacitus's *Agricola*, Chapter XXI.)

P. 57, l. 11. *Transylvanians*, People of the wooded region in the north-western parts of Roumania. Many Transylvanians went abroad in the seventeenth century to study at the great universities, such as Paris, Prague, Leyden etc. Some must have naturally gone to England, though apart from Milton's emphatic language there is no other authority for the subject. In Masson's account of *Hartlib's Correspondence with Comenius* [Vide. *Introduction re. Milton's Tractate on Education*] some Moravian students are mentioned as passing through London. During the Thirty Years' War, Transylvania had, under the lead of her Prince Bethlem Gabor (i.e. Gabriel Bethlem) played a conspicuous part on the Protestant side, a circumstance which might have drawn Milton's attention towards them and led to his complimentary description of them as "grave and frugal". Note the use of the *singular*: "Transylvanian".

P. 57, ll. 11-12. *Mountainous borders of Russia*, The Carpathian mountains are meant. But parts of Poland and the whole of Moldavia lie between Transylvania and Russia.

P. 57, l. 12. *Hernycian wilderness*, Milton describes thus the wild country referred to by the Elder Pliny and Tacitus as "*Hernycius saltus*". The mountains and forests in Germany from the Black Forest to the Harz are meant.

P. 57, l. 13. *Their staid men*, i.e. men of mature age, what Cicero would call, *Constantes*.

P. 57, l. 14. *Yet that which is above all this*, i.e. to speak of a matter which ranks far higher than these things, *viz.* the favour etc. The whole expression is in apposition to "the favour and love of heaven. For this expression compare: "And which is best and happiest yet etc." in *Samson Agonistes*, l. 1718.

P. 57, ll. 16-17. *Propendious towards us*. (The word *propend* is used by Shakespeare in *Troilus and Cressida*) Inclining towards us. It is the same word as *propense*, which means "inclined towards."

P. 57, ll. 17-18. *This Nation . . . other*. This refers to the Lollard agitation which began first in England under Wycliffe, who is called the morning-star of the Reformation. Cf. Milton's tract, *Of Reformation in England*.

P. 57, l. 18. *That out . . . Scion*, Who out of England, as if out of Jerusalem itself.

P. 57, l. 21. *Of our prelates*, i.e. the Catholic bishops in England in the reign of King Henry IV, who got King and Parliament to pass an Act to put down the Lollards and burn them at the stake.

P. 57, ll. 22-23. *Suppress . . . innovator*, Put down Wycliffe as the founder of a new sect and newfangled doctrine or heresy. For *Innovator*, see Bacon's Essay on *Innovations*, Essay XXIV.

P. 57, l. 22. *Wycliffe*, John Wycliffe (1320-1384), contemporary of Chaucer (1340-1405), founder of the Lollard sect and the first to translate a part of the Bible into Middle English.

P. 57, l. 22-P. 58, l. 1. *Perhaps neither the Bohemian . . . known*, Milton means that if Wycliffe's movement had not been suppressed, he would have been known even more widely than Huss and Jerome, Luther and Calvin and the more successful movement of these latter would have been nowhere before that of Wycliffe. ("Had been known" = "would never have been known.")

P. 57, l. 23. *Huss*, John Huss (1373-1415), Bohemian reformer (*Vide* note given *supra*). He was burnt at the stake at Constance.

P. 57, l. 24. *Jerome*, This is Jerome of Prague, also burnt at the stake at Constance in 1416.

P. 58, ll. 1-2. *Had been ours*, Would have been entirely ours.

P. 58, l. 3. *Demcaned the matter*, Degraded our position as teachers to the rest of Europe.

P. 58, ll. 4-5. *Of whom teachers*, Though God intended us to be foremost in the teaching of religious reform.

P. 58, ll. 10-11. *Even to the reforming etc.*, (See Milton's tract, *Of Reformation in England*) carrying Protestantism to a better and purer state.

P. 58, ll. 11-12. *First to his Englishmen*, As if England were God's favoured nation, as the Jews claimed themselves to be. This is of course excusable nationalism on the part of Milton, but a rivalry of this kind (*viz.* in religious reform) is ever to be regretted.

P. 58, l. 14. *This vast city*, London.

P. 58, l. 14. *A city of refuge*, A Biblical expression. Cf. *Numbers XXXV*, 9, where Moses appoints six cities to be cities of refuge, where persons guilty of killing a person were to take shelter and be safe until their trial took place.

P. 58, ll. 14-15. *The mansion-house of liberty* (From Latin *maneo*, I remain, I stay). The fixed home, dwelling-place of liberty.

P. 58, ll. 15-16. *His protection*, Its defences or means of protection.

P. 58, l. 17. *Hammers waking*, The reading hammers *working* is perhaps more suitable.

P. 58, l. 17. *Plates and instruments*, Defensive and offensive armour. "Plates" = breast-plates, almost the only defensive armour still worn in Milton's time.

P. 58, l. 19. *Pens and heads*, i.e. of scholars. Milton himself would be one of them.

P. 58, ll. 20-22. *Wherewith Reformation*, By means of their studies and researches and independent thought they make their own loyal contribution to the cause of a more complete Reformation that is drawing nearer and nearer.

P. 58, l. 22. *Others as fast reading, etc.*, This sentence is a

striking example of how Milton goes on loosely piling up clauses and phrases one on the top of another. This *may* be treated as a Nominative Absolute, meaning "while others are as fast reading etc."

P. 58, l. 24. *Convincement*, Conviction.

P. 59, ll. 2-3. *What wants there* (Notice this old-fashioned use of *want*, meaning *to be absent, wanting* or deficient.) What is lacking?

P. 59, l. 3. *Towardly*, Tractable; easily cultivated.

P. 59, l. 3. *Pregnant*, Fertile; productive.

P. 59, ll. 4-5. *A Nation of Prophets*, A nation consisting of sages inspired by the spirit of God. (Perhaps suggested by *Numbers* XI, 29, where Moses wishes that all the Lord's people i.e. the Jews) were prophets.

P. 59, l. 6. *Five months*, The Gospel of St. John describes *four* months as the time required to be waited for the harvest after the sowing. Milton deliberately changes it to "five" months. The *Areopagitica* was published in November, 1644. By "five months" Milton may refer to the expected achievement of the army which had been new-modelled for the campaign of 1645, as stated by Professor Hales, but this is not very convincing.

P. 59, l. 7. *Fields are ripe etc.*, i.e. the fields are already ripe with ears of corn.

P. 59, ll. 9-10. *Opinion the making*, This is a remarkable utterance. Opinion does not mean absolute truth, but it leads on to truth.

P. 59, l. 12. *Fantastic*, Used in the more *literal* sense of "purely fanciful."

P. 59, l. 13. *Lament of*, This use of *of* is obsolete. Milton means "lament *about*" or "lament *over*".

P. 59, l. 15. *Ill-deputed care*, Which they had so wrongly trusted to the care of other people.

P. 59, l. 17. *A little forbearance of one another*, This is of course the motive for writing the *Areopagitica*, which is a plea for tolerance, or the liberty of publication. St. Paul in *Ephesians* IV, 2, calls for "loving forbearance", as also in *Colossians*, III, 13, he enjoins *forbearance*—"forgiving one another, if any

man have a quarrel against any". But Milton did not forgive Salmasius till the latter's death.

P. 59, l. 18. *Diligences*, Anxieties.

P. 59, l. 21. *Crowding free consciences*, Forcing the liberty of conscience, to think, speak and act as our conscience prompts us. Milton wrote a poem on *The New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament*, and he made a strong plea against it in his Sonnet addressed to Oliver Cromwell, May 1652, telling him "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war" and asking him to "help us to save free conscience from the paw of hireling wolves whose Gospel is their maw".

P. 60, l. 4. *But that*, that (this use of *but that* after verbs expressing *doubt* is really a Latinism).

P. 60, l. 4. *He would cry out as Pyrrhus did, etc.*, After the battle of Heraclea (280 B.C.) where Pyrrhus gained a victory, he surveyed the field and found the fallen Romans with wounds all in front of their bodies and none on the back, at which he exclaimed, as reported by the historian Florus 400 years later, "O, how easy would it be for me to conquer and rule over the world, with the Romans as my soldiers or with me as their king".

P. 60, l. 4. *Pyrrhus*, (318 B.C. to 272 B.C.), King of Epirus (modern Albania), who at the invitation of the Greeks of Tarentum in South Italy invaded Italy to free them from the Romans. He defeated the Romans in many successive battles. The Romans admired his courtesy and chivalry. He was at last defeated and had to leave Italy. He was a cousin to Alexander the Great, whose mother was a princess of Epirus.

P. 60, l. 5. *Roman docility*, Roman discipline.

P. 60, l. 5. *Epirots*, People of Epirus. In Greek the suffix *otes* added to the name of a town or island denotes the natives of that place, e.g. *Cypriotes*, *Siceliotes* (natives of Sicily), etc.

P. 60, l. 5. *If such . . . Epirots*, If my soldiers from Epirus were like the Romans.

P. 60, l. 6. *I would not despair*, The word *despair* is used with the *word* of omitted. Cf. the use of the verb "scrupled" in "scrupled more the books of heretics" at p. 12, l. 2.

P. 60, l. 7. *Make a Church*, Pyrrhus of course never said anything about a *Church*!

P. 60, l. 9. *While the Temple of the Lord, etc.*. This has indirect reference to the Temple built by Solomon as described in I Kings V-VI. The words *stone*, *marble*, and *cedar* represent the material used in the great temple built by Solomon. "Cut", "hew" etc. refer to I Kings V 17-18.

P. 60, l. 11. *A sort of irrational men*. Unreasonable men who in their conceit consider themselves to be all-wise.

P. 60, l. 15. *United into a continuity, etc.*. You cannot make two stones organically into one; you can only place them with one stone next to another in its neighbourhood and touching it. [*Contiguity* from *contiguous* = touching].

P. 60, l. 18. *Moderate varieties*. Differences in moderation, not excessive.

P. 60, l. 19. *Brotherly dissimilitude*. Differences as there might be between one brother and another.

P. 60, ll. 19-20. *Not vastly disproportional*. Which are not so vast as to mar the harmony and proportion.

P. 61, ll. 4-5. *Memorable and glorious wish, etc.*. See *Numbers* XI, 24-30. In verse 24, we are told that Moses gathered seventy elders of the Jewish people and placed them round the tabernacle of the *Lord*, upon which they all began to prophesy—i.e. became prophets and verse 29 tells us that Moses wished that all the people of the Lord (i.e. the Jews) were prophets and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them! Milton applies these verses to the English nation and says that with the genuine Protestantism, they have now all become prophets and a glorious reformation of the church is now at hand!

P. 61, l. 8. *Joshua*. He was a young man who was astonished at two of the elders who began to prophesy not in the tabernacle, but in the Jewish camp and reported the matter to Moses (*Numbers* XI, 28).

P. 61, ll. 8-9. *Envy them*. This refers to verse 29 of the above passage. When young Joshua ran to make the report to Moses about the two elders in camp beginning to prophesy, Moses asked him, "Enviest thou them?"

P. 61, l. 16. *Maniples*, Companies. This was a technical term in the Roman army. A *maniple* was generally a unit of thirty to sixty soldiers, each with two centurions or captains and a

standard-bearer. The word originally meant a *handful* (Latin, *manus* = hand) or wisp of straw, that being the original standard. But the size of this army unit differed at different times.

P. 61, l. 22. *I have these reasons to persuade me*. Milton proceeds to give reasons to prove that sects and schisms will do no harm.

P. 62, ll. 1-11. *First, when a city . . . foresight and self-government*. What a long sentence!

P. 62, l. 1. *When a city . . . besieged*. Milton has in his mind the fact that about 1642—just two years before the pamphlet—the Royalist forces were besieging London and were on the point of capturing it. On that occasion, Milton wrote his famous sonnet, *When an assault was intended to the city*. It should be noted that in Milton's days there were forts from White Chapel Road to Hyde Park corner and on the other side of the river from Vauxhall to near the Lock Hospital in Kent Street.

P. 62, ll. 2-4. *Inroads and incursions . . . trenches*. This is a description of the alarm in London with the men of the Parliamentary Party about the time of the battle of Edgehill. Men, women, and children were employed in constructing fortification works and digging trenches. (See note *supra*: the order for these fortifications was issued by Parliament in September or October, 1642).

P. 62, l. 4. *Suburb trenches*. Trenches close round the city.

P. 62, l. 7. *Should be disputing, etc.*. About this time certain eminent men of science were beginning to hold those meetings which resulted in the formation of the Royal Society early in the reign of Charles II.

P. 62, ll. 8-9. *Even to rarity and admiration*. And that too with a skill altogether rare and admirable.

P. 62, l. 10. *Argues*. Shows.

P. 62, ll. 12-13. *Derives itself to a gallant bravery*. Proceeds on to a display of great bravery in battle.

P. 62, ll. 13-15. *As if there were . . . as his was who*. As if there was no end of patriotic men confident of the victory of their cause among the English Parliamentary party, as was the patriotic and confident spirit of that brave Roman citizen who etc.

P. 62, ll. 15-17. *When Rome was nigh . . . in his own regiment.* Milton refers here to a famous story in Roman History, told by Livy in his History, XXVI, ii. At a time when Hannibal lay encamped a few miles to the south of Rome threatening the capture of that city, (having previously inflicted a number of defeats on the Romans), it is said that the very piece of land upon which he lay encamped was sold by auction and a plucky Roman citizen was found to purchase it, though the very existence of the Roman State was in jeopardy. The incident is often cited as an illustration of Roman patriotism and their confidence in ultimate victory. Livy adds the story that when Hannibal heard this he retorted by putting up for auction the ownership of the silversmith's shop in the *forum* or market-place of Rome.

P. 62, ll. 16-17. *At no cheap rate.* Livy says the purchaser paid the usual price, in no sense abated on account of Hannibal's threatening Rome.

P. 62, ll. 20-21. *Not only to vital . . . faculties.* Not only with regard to physical but also mental powers. "Vital" is "physical" and "rational" is "intellectual".

P. 62, l. 21. *Pertest,* Most lively or nimble.

P. 63, l. 2. *So sprightly up,* Is aroused in such a lively manner; is so much elated. "Sprightly" is rather to be construed as an adverb here. "Up" is "excited", "elated".

P. 63, ll. 2-3. *Not only wherewith, etc.,* Not only the means with which to guard.

P. 63, ll. 5-6. *It betokens . . . decay.* It shows we have not degenerated.

P. 63, l. 8. *Wax young again,* i.e., like a snake that has cast off the slough, as it were, of our old corrupt selves, while going through this agonising change.

P. 63, l. 10. *Methinks I see in my mind, etc.,* This is one of the great passages in the Areopagitica, worth memorising.

P. 63, l. 10. *Methinks* (Impersonal verb), *Me seems*; it seems to me. (Here *me* is really a dative case.) *Thinks* meaning *seems* is derived from A. S. *thincan*, "to seem" and not from *thencan* "to think".

P. 63, l. 11. *Puissant*, (Rather a poetical word now) Powerful.

P. 63, l. 11. *Like a strong man after sleep*, Milton is evidently thinking of Samson, the Bible hero, upon whom he afterwards wrote his tragedy of *Samson Agonistes*. While he was asleep, his mistress Delilah cut off his locks upon which his strength depended. She was a Philistine woman and did it in the interest of the Philistines, the enemies of Samson and the Jews.

P. 63, l. 12. *Shaking her invincible locks*, i.e. like Samson, whose invincibility depended on his locks. See *Judges XVI*.

P. 63, l. 13. *Mewing . . . youth*, Renewing her mighty youth by "moulting" (or *casting off*) its old feathers and putting on fresh ones. *Mew* is properly *intransitive*; but is used transitively here. It means to *moult* and comes through French from the Latin *Muto* = I change. The word "mews" meaning stables is at bottom the same word, first denoting the place where falcon (used for hunting game birds) *moulted* their feathers, then the place where they were kept and lastly the place where horses, (also used for hunting) were kept.

P. 63, l. 14. *Purging and unscaling*, Wiping clean and dropping the scales (i.e. film) from her eyes.

P. 63, ll. 15-16. *Fountain . . . radiance*, At the source of all light and truth, viz. God.

P. 63, ll. 16-17. *While the whole noise . . . flutter about*, Note the subject is *noise* (singular) and the verb is *flutter* (plural). This is syntax according to sense, rather than strict grammar: "noise of birds" being practically equal to "noisy birds."

P. 63, ll. 16-17. *Flocking birds*, Birds that dare not fly alone and independently.

P. 63, l. 17. *Love the twilight*, Love to fly in partial darkness i.e. in plain language nations that cling to ignorance and error.

P. 63, l. 19. *Prognosticate a year*, (The language of astrologers and almanac-makers is used here.) These stupid gabblers foretell that there will be many sects and schisms in the land.

P. 63, ll. 22-23. *Oligarchy of twenty engrossers*, i.e. twenty

privileged licensers to have control over all books and learning. An engrosser is properly speaking a man who buys up a quantity of goods and secures a practical monopoly over them. Similarly these licensers will get a monopoly over books.

P. 63, ll. 23-24. *To bring . . . minds again*, To starve our minds.

P. 64, l. 6. *Your own mild etc.*, The Long Parliament began its career with many acts of great practical benevolence and constitutional importance. *Vide Hume's History of England*, chapter 54 and Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, Chapter IX,

P. 64, l. 8. *Purchased us*, Obtained for us.

P. 64, l. 9. *Rarified*, Refined.

P. 64, l. 10. *The influence of heaven*. The word *influence* is used in the old astrological sense—the subtle fluid flowing from the heavenly bodies. See *Christ's Nativity*, l. 76 and *L'Allegro*, l. 122.

P. 64, ll. 18-19. *As they were . . . freed us*, i.e. like the royalists and episcopalians.

P. 64, l. 20. *More erected*, More elevated. Milton uses the word in *Paradise Lost* I, 668—"Mammon the least erected spirit that fell from heaven."

P. 64, l. 21. *Exactest*, Things that are most absolutely true.

P. 64, l. 18. *An abrogated and merciless law*, A law which in practice is as good as obsolete, but which on the rare occasions when it is acted upon, is found very harsh and unfair.

P. 64, l. 24. *Fathers may dispatch etc.*, But the father of a family may kill his own children. In the earliest times, the father of a Roman family could do what he liked with his own children, even kill them or sell them as slaves. That power was a natural result of the Roman conception of *Patria Potestas*, the "paternal authority" over his children. *Vide Ramsay's Roman Antiquities*.

P. 64, ll. 25-27. *Not he who . . . Danegelt*, Not those who collected the ship-money tax and other taxes, such as coat-tax etc.

P. 64, l. 26. *Coat and conduct*, Coat-money and conduct-money levied by the King for clothing his armies. These were

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old taxes, which after the Elizabethan age were revived by Charles I.

P. 64, ll. 26-27. *Four nobles of Danegelt*, i.e. ship-money, a tax for the maintenance of the navy revived by Charles I, first imposed on sea-side counties and later extended to the inland shires. The tax was so named because it seems it was originally levied in early Saxon times for defence purposes against the Danish invasions,—either to repel them or to bribe them off! *Dane-gelt* = Dane-money, "gelt" being gold. It was first raised by King Ethelred II as early as 991 A.D. A noble was a coin, worth about 8s. 6d. It was first struck in the reign of Edward III and was current till the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The allusion is to Hampden's refusal to pay the ship-money tax. The Government of Charles I sued him to pay the amount of *three* nobles, equal to about a pound. "Four nobles" is a slight exaggeration. Hampden was sued for this tax as regards his property at Stoke Mandeville. Like the old *Dane-gelt*, it was the landlords who had to pay the Ship-money tax. The storm raised against Charles I's levy of the tax was due to the fact that it was levied without consent of Parliament.

P. 64, ll. 27-30. *Although I dispraise not the defence . . . liberties*, Though I have nothing but praise for those who champion the cause of liberty,—still I would not bother much, if it was only ordinary immunity from taxation etc. that was at stake: but I cannot submit to any invasion upon my freedom of thought and speech.—Milton never actually fought in the ranks of the Parliamentary army, though he returned hastily from Italy, when the tension between King and people became serious. This much can be suspected from this passage in the *Areopagitica*. But there is also other direct evidence on the point. We hear of no co-operation between Milton and any of the Parliamentary leaders on his return from his travels. Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, in the Life of his uncle says indeed that there was some talk about the poet accepting a military charge on his return to England. But though Masson finds that Milton shows a great familiarity with military terms, he could find no evidence about Milton's getting that familiarity from a regular experience in the army. The evidence goes rather the other way. For instance, in the *Second Defence* Milton

repels the charge of being called a coward because he had not served in the army. He professes to have other weapons of war,—*viz.* pamphleteering. The Sonnet addressed in 1642 to the royalist "Captain or Colonel or Knight in arms" who might seize on the "defenceless doors" of his house in Aldersgate Street is sufficient proof that Milton never did any soldiering and whatever "talk" or "negotiations" for a military post took place on Milton's return from his travels—to which Edward Phillips refers—must have ended in failure.

P. 64, ll. 28-29. *Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue etc.*, One of the great memorable utterances of Milton, which any one will do well to remember! Freedom of thought and speech is the highest liberty that Milton prizes, or any one should prize. For any encroachment on his liberty *less than that* he would not much bother to care: there are *other men* fit enough to fight for all other kinds of liberties. For the liberty of thought and speech, Milton himself will put on his armour to defend, and he does so with his pen.

P. 64, l. 29. *Utter*, Literally "give out"; hence *speak* or *publish*.

P. 65, ll. 2-3. *For the newness or unsuitableness etc.*, On account of their novelty, or want of conformity with prevailing beliefs, i.e. on account of their not agreeing with the opinions in fashion at the time.

P. 65, l. 5. *One of your own honourable number*, One of the honourable members of Parliament.

P. 65, l. 6. *Had he not sacrificed etc.*, *Vide* note to Lord Brooke *infra*.

P. 65, l. 6. *We had not now missed*, *We would not* now have missed,—he would have been yet among us.

P. 65, ll. 10-11. *The Lord Brook (i.e. Brooke)*, Robert Greville, the son of Fulke Greville (friend of Sir Philip Sidney and poet and statesman of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James I, 1554-1628), was an opponent of the Anglican hierarchy, which he attacked in his pamphlet, *Discourse on Episcopacy*. In assaulting, at the head of a Parliamentary army, Lichfield Cathedral, he was killed by a bullet shot from the tower in 1643. His death was deeply lamented by the Presby-

terians, but he was naturally hated by the Episcopalians. Archbishop Laud commenting on his death in his Diary states this "great and known enemy to Cathedral Churches died thus fearfully in the assault of a Cathedral." He further states that the event took place "on St. Chad's day, of which saint the Cathedral bears the name."

P. 65, l. 12. *Vote*, Perhaps used in the original sense of the Latin word *Votum* meaning *vow* or *prayer* or *-earnest wish*. (Latin, *voveo*, I vow or pray for.)

P. 65, l. 11. *His writing of episcopacy*, The full title of Lord Brooke's tract was: "A discourse opening the nature of that Episcopacie which is exercised in England. Wherein, *with all Humility*, are represented some Considerations tending to the much desired Peace and long expected Reformation of this our Mother Church."

P. 65, l. 14. *So full of meekness etc.*, These words refer to Lord Brooke's own words, *with all Humility* etc. described *above in the title* of his pamphlet against Episcopacy and to the generally peaceful nature of his discourse, which however was galling to the Episcopalians.

P. 65, ll. 15-16. *Next to his last testament who bequeathed etc.*, Next to the last testament or dying words of Jesus Christ etc. *Vide. John XIV, 27*, where Christ tells his disciples: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

P. 65, l. 22. *Some disconformity to ourselves*, In nonconformity with our own views, though *dissenting* somewhat from our views. The word *disconformity* is no longer used: the word *nonconformity* has well filled its place, while "Nonconformists" and "Dissenters" have now the same meaning. The word expresses the same idea as the phrase *unsuitableness to a customary acceptance*, used above in this paragraph.

P. 65, l. 24-26. *Who both for his life perusal*, Both in his life and in his death, he has shown himself such a faithful follower of the Parliamentary party that the advice he has given us in his book is worthy of our respectful attention and not to be neglected.

P. 66, l. 1. *And now the time in special etc.*, And now especially is the time when men may freely write and speak so as to promote discussion of the general topics of the day.

P. 66, l. 3. *The temple of Janus etc.*, At Rome, the temple of Janus, a god with two faces, one looking in and the other looking outwards, stood at the gates of the city. The temple was kept open in time of war (as Roman armies were then marching out of the city) and kept closed in time of peace. This latter happened after long intervals—sometimes after centuries—as Rome was always at war, with some enemy or other. It was once closed in the peaceful reign of Numa, the second King of Rome, and till the death of Julius Caesar, it was closed only twice since Numa's day i.e. since 700 B.C. It was again closed for a time in the reign of Augustus. Milton means in this passage that the temple of Janus must now be kept open, since a deadly war is now going on between Truth and Falsehood.

P. 66, ll. 3-4. *With his two controversial faces*, See note above. "Controversial" is perhaps "turned in contrary directions". Milton might have used the form "controverse", similar to "converse", "inverse", "transverse" etc.; but perhaps he uses the form *controversial* on purpose, intending a sort of pun with *controversial*, which suggests *controversy*.

P. 66, l. 4. *Not insignificantly*, (*Litotes*) In a very significant manner.

P. 66, l. 6. *So truth be in the field*, As long as truth is in the field; provided that truth is in the field. *So* is used in a *conditional* sense.

P. 66, ll. 6-7. *We do injuriously . . . strength*, We do injustice to truth and underrate her power to defend herself, in trying to protect her behind a barrier of licensing and prohibition.

P. 66, l. 9. *Her confuting*, (*Her* is a *subjective genitive*) Confutation by her i.e. when she confutes.

P. 66, l. 10. *Surest suppressing*, i.e. surest way of suppressing error or falsehood.

P. 66, ll. 12-14. *Would think of other . . . hands*, Would think of attiving at or attaining a higher perfection of life and deeper truth than what we Presbyterians have already attained from the system of Calvin, which came to us ready-made.

P. 66, l. 13. *Discipline of Geneva*, The system of Calvin who lived at Geneva in Switzerland, where he carried on a theocratic form of government. The words *discipline* and *doctrine* both convey nearly the same meaning in Milton's works, though he often distinguishes them, as in the title of his tract on divorce, which he called the "*Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*." *Doctrine* suggests *teaching* (from Latin *Doceo*, I teach) and *Discipline* suggests *learning* (from Latin *Disco*, I learn). *Doctrine* thus suggests the *inner* principles which are required for *teaching* and *Discipline*, the outward system, which can be easily *learnt*.

P. 66, l. 16. *There be who envy* (Latin construction) There are persons who envy.

P. 66, ll. 16-17. *If it . . . casements*, If the new truth or discovery is not of their own making or finding.

P. 66, l. 17. *Collusion*, This word is used here in a sort of unusual meaning. *Collusion* ordinarily implies an underhand dealing—some secret conspiracy or evasion of the law, some dishonest practice, and Milton uses the word here in a loose way for a *dishonest act* to evade the Biblical teaching or something which is the opposite of *straightforward*.

P. 66, l. 18. *The wise man*, Solomon.

P. 66, ll. 18-19. "*Seek for wisdom . . . treasures*", See *Proverbs* II, 2-6, where Solomon says: "Apply thine ear unto wisdom and apply thine heart to understanding . . . If thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for *hidden treasures*, then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God. For the Lord giveth wisdom: out of his mouth cometh knowledge." Mr. J. W. Hales's reference to *Matthew* XIII, 44, where the "kingdom of heaven" is compared to a "treasure hid in a field",—a similitude of Christ's—seems misplaced, as Milton cannot be imagined to use the expression "wise man" for Christ, whereas Solomon was considered the wisest of men (*not* because he married so many wives!) and the words *hidden treasures* actually occur in his *Proverbs* as quoted above.

P. 66, l. 20. *Know nothing but by statute*, Not to read any books except those which the ordinance of Parliament has sanctioned through the licensers appointed by it.

P. 66, ll. 22-23; *Hath furnished out . . . equipage*, Has set out all his discoveries or inferences with all the *apparatus* of argument and the demonstration. The word *equipage* is loosely used for an "array of everything that is prepared or provided to furnish out the argument and make it convincing", in the way in which one *equips* a regiment or "rigs" out a ship. The reference to *battle* in the following part should help to establish the meaning.

P. 66, l. 23-P. 67, l. 1. *As it were a battle ranged*, Like an army fully arranged. *Battle* = army or battalion, as in Shakespeare and other authors. Cf. *Macbeth* V, 6, 4, "Lead our first battle."

P. 67, ll. 2-3. *Offers . . . sun*. The military metaphor is continued. The author allows his opponents full advantage of wind and sun in fighting his argumentative battle with them, i.e. he does not seek to take any mean advantage over them in controversy. When the wind blows in the face of an army, or the sun fiercely shines on their eyes, it is a disadvantage to them, while the same circumstance proves an advantage to their opponents. Livy describes in Book XXI of his History, how Hannibal often tried to get this advantage over his opponents, the Romans, in his battles. Similarly at Agincourt, the English had the same advantage over the French.

P. 67, l. 4. *By dint of arguments*. By arguments driven home. *Dint* = blow or stroke.

P. 67, l. 5. *To keep a narrow bridge*, As Horatius Cocles did against Lars Porsenna's army, stopping them at the old Subulician Bridge, famous incident in Roman History. The Knights of the romances of chivalry often did this, challenging passers-by at the head of a narrow bridge to battle or force them to pay tribute and become vassals. Cf. the *Faerie Queene* V, II, stanzas 4 to 19.

P. 67, l. 11. *Shifts*, Tricks.

P. 67, l. 13. *Proteus*, The prophetic old man of the sea, described in the earliest legends as a shepherd of Neptune, whose flocks he tended. At midday he rose from the sea and slept in the shadow of the rocks of the coast. Any one wishing to learn from him the future was obliged to catch hold of him at that

time : as soon as he was seized, he assumed every possible shape, in order to escape the necessity of prophesying, but when he saw his endeavours to change his form and escape were of no avail, he resumed his usual form and told the truth. Hence the adjective *Protean*, which means full of change, change of form and feature. Homer placed Proteus somewhere at the mouth of the Nile, while Vergil placed him in the island of Carpathes, between Crete and Rhodes.

P. 67, l. 15. *She turns herself eer own*, i.e., as Proteus used to do.

P. 67, ll. 16-17. *As Micaiah did, etc.*. See *Kings* XXII. 13-25 and *II Chronicles*, XVIII. Many prophets having told a lying story that Ahab, King of the Israelites would gain a victory over the Syrians at Ramoth-gilead, Micaiah, the prophet and a godly man, was sent for. Micaiah at first answered in tune with the temperament of the King and in harmony with the false prophecies that Ahab would prosper and that the Lord would deliver Ramoth-gilead in the hands of the King. *But afterwards he predicted the defeat and death of Ahab*, which eventually took place.

P. 67, l. 19. *All that rank of things indifferent, etc.* All that class of middling things which are not wholly true, nor wholly false, when sometimes the one seems true, sometimes another.

P. 67, l. 22—P. 68, l. 1. *Those ordinances cross*, Milton quotes from *Colossians* II, 14, where Paul reminds the Colossians that they had once been persecuting the Christians, but now, many among them having become Christians, they had blotted out the ordinances against the Christians and took them away and nailed them to the cross of Christ. Now this abolition of the ordinances, Paul here refers to, would be but a show and a mockery, if there was no real freedom given to Christian thought.

P. 68, l. 1. *Purchase*, Profit.

P. 68, l. 2. *Paul so often boasts of*, Cf. : *Galatians* V, 1, where Paul speaks of the "liberty wherewith Christ has made us free".

P. 68, l. 2. *His doctrine is, etc.*, Cf. : *Romans*, XIV, 6. "He that regardeth the day, regardeth it not to the Lord ; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks ; and

he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks". In short whatever a pious Christian does, he does it to the Lord, and whatever a Christian *does not do*, that *not doing* is also credited to the Lord. Thus Paul tolerates both action and inaction : he is so full of charity and love. Milton puts up the same plea for tolerance.

P. 68, ll. 4-7. *How many other one another*. Christians ought to be tolerant and give liberty of conscience and leave things to be judged right or wrong to the conscience of the people themselves ; but we are hypocrites instead of being men full of love and kindness, and hypocrisy's great stronghold is always to sit in judgment upon other people.

P. 68, l. 7. *This iron yoke of, etc.*, The ruthless way in which Laud and other bishops tried to force upon us a show of outward conformity in religion has left its mark upon us and has made us intolerant of independent opinion.

P. 68, ll. 8-9. *The ghost of a linen us*. The Presbyterian had killed the "linen decency" of the Anglican church (as also of the Catholic church), viz., the decency which consisted in the use of particular church vestments, surplices, cassocks, etc., and levelled down all ostentatious ceremony, but to Milton's mind it seems that though these symbolical clothes have been suppressed, the ghost of them is yet alive and continuing to trouble the nation with new artificial conventions. The spirit of the thing was again arising in new forms. Milton hated all forms of church vestments as such.

P. 68, l. 11. *Though fundamentals*, Though in fundamental principles they are not divided but are at one. Milton is again referring to the distinction between *Unity* and *Uniformity*, which Bacon formerly urged in his famous essay on the subject.

P. 68, l. 13. *Enthralled*, Enslaved.

P. 68, l. 14. *Care not to keep* ; Don't care about keeping.

P. 68, ll. 14-15. *Which is the fiercest, etc.*, Which causes the greatest schisms in the body of the church.

P. 68, l. 18. *Congelment*, A solid mass.

P. 68, l. 18. *Of wood, and hay and stubble*, i.e., of mere rubbish. This is a Biblical expression found in *Corinthians*, III,

12, where we are told Christ's church is built on good foundations, upon Christ himself, and not upon gold or silver, or precious stones, nor upon wood, hay or stubble.

P. 68, ll. 19-20. *Which is more to the sudden degenerating of a church.* Which will contribute more to the disintegration and rapid dissolution of a church.

P. 68, l. 20. *Subdichotomies, Dichotomy* is a Greek word and it is a term used in Logic for *division*. Subdichotomy (which is the Greek word with the Latin prefix *sub* added on) means *sub-division*, i.e. dividing a *genus* into *species* and a *species* into *sub-species*, etc.

P. 68, l. 22. *Can think well of,* Can approve of.

P. 68, l. 22. *Every light separation.* Every flimsy division.

P. 68, l. 23—P. 69, l. 1. *Gold, silver, and precious stones,* (From *Corinthians* III, 12). We cannot expect that every thing in a church will be as pure gold and silver—there is always bound to be some alloy of error.

P. 69, l. 1. *Sever the wheat, etc.* See *Matthew* XIII, 24-30. This has now become a proverbial saying. To separate the tares from the wheat is always a difficult job and can be done only at the proper time—the danger being that in rooting out the tares, one will root out the wheat also (*Matthew*, XIII, 29). This is from one of Christ's parables about separation of good men from wicked men.

• P. 69, l. 2. *Fry.* A swarm of small fishes just spawned. The word is generally used of small, trivial things in a contemptuous sense.

P. 69, l. 3. *The ministry of angels.* See *Matthew* XIII, 41. It is only the angels of God who can separate the wheat from the tares, the good from the wicked.

P. 69, l. 3. *At the end of mortal things.* At the end of the world, when only the angels of God shall separate the good from the wicked.

P. 69, l. 7. *I mean not tolerated popery,* Milton does not extend toleration to the Catholics! Milton does so on two grounds:—(1) that it is an open superstition and suppresses true religion, and (2) that it denies the "civil supremacy" or *sovereignty* of the state and tends to look upon the Pope as sovereign. Jeremy Taylor in his *Liberty of Prophesying* cites the

following Popish doctrines as disentiing the Catholic to toleration in a Protestant state, viz. that the Pope may dispense with all oaths taken to God or man ; that he may absolve subjects from their allegiance to their prince ; that no faith need be kept with heretics ; that heretical kings may be repelled by their subjects, etc. Similarly in his *Letters on Toleration*, Locke does not allow toleration to the Catholics, but more on political than on religious grounds, -since the Pope is a foreign prince and a conflict of allegiance, to a nation's own sovereignty and to a foreign power, will thus arise if the Catholic religion is tolerated. Milton however adds a proviso : viz. before suppressing the Catholics by force, every form of persuasion should be used to win them over.

P. 69, ll. 8-9. *Itself should be extirpate*, Should itself be extirpated. Notice the use of the *past participle* without the suffix *ed*, as in the legal term *situate* for *situated*. *Situate* from Latin *situatus* is already a past participle. Adding *ed*, the sign of the English Past Participle, makes it *doubly* a Past Participle, and the same thing happens with many other words such as *dedicated*, *frustrated*, *elated*, *elevated* etc., and in fact in nearly all words which have the Latin Past Participle ending *atus*.

P. 69, l. 11. *That also which is impious etc.*, Similarly Locke in his *Letters on Toleration* refuses to grant toleration to atheists.

P. 69, l. 13. *Intends not to unla^w itself*, Does not want to cease being a *law*. Note the strange coinage *unlaw*, which has the merit of being forcible, with economy of language.

P. 69, ll. 13-14. *Neighbouring differences etc.*, I am speaking of trivial points of difference, which one may be indifferent about.

P. 69, l. 15. *Doctrine or discipline*, See note to the *discipline of Geneva* (page 66, l. 13).

P. 69, l. 15. *Bejesuited us*, Turned us into bigoted Jesuits. Notice the strange coinage of the verb from the noun *Jesuit* on the analogy of *befriend*, *befool*, *benight* etc. Here the prefix *be* had originally the force of *by*.

P. 70, l. 7. *Unplausible* (Used in the literal sense), Less worthy of praise or approval.

P. 70, ll. 7-8. *Even as the person is of many a great man,* Such as Socrates, Agesilaus etc. Cf. Bacon's Essay, *Of Deformity*.

P. 70, l. 9. *To see to,* To look at; in appearance.

P. 70, l. 9. *What do they tell us etc.,* What do these authors of the licensing system tell us etc.

P. 70, l. 10. *When this very opinion etc.,* When it is a fact that this very procedure of preventing the public from coming in touch with new opinions, *except when licensed*, is itself a great innovation. Milton means that the licensing system is itself a great innovation, though it tries to stop new opinions as innovations.

P. 70, ll. 14-15. *When God shakes a kingdom etc.,* The language is taken from *Joel* III, 16 and *Haggai* II, 6, 7.

P. 70, l. 24. *His beam,* His light. Cf. *Paradise Lost* III, 2: "Or of the Eternal co-eternal beam."

P. 70, ll. 25-26. *Appointed and confined etc.,* Bound under fixed conditions as to where etc.

P. 70, l. 26. *His chosen,* Those whom God has chosen for discovering the truth.

P. 71, ll. 2-3. *Devote ourselves to set places and assemblies,* Attach our devotion to particular places and councils of men. Milton has no superstitious veneration for particular places that may be considered as holy, unless holy men really dwell there. He expresses this idea in *Paradise Lost* XI, 836-858, saying that God does not attribute any sanctity to any particular place.

P. 71, ll. 3-4. *Outward callings of men,* i.e. priests. As God does not attach any sanctity to particular places. He also attaches no sanctity to particular professions of men such as priests.

P. 71, ll. 4-14. *Planting our faith . . . swell their number,* It is foolish to think that places like the Convocation house or Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Church have any particular sanctity, when all the religion associated with those places is not sufficient (without complete faith and loving charity) to heal the hurt conscience of a pious Christian or enlighten him, when what he requires is real spiritual happiness and not an

appearance of it,—in spite of all the preachers there, even if the old preachers and patrons of that Church like Henry VII were to come back to life.

P. 71, l. 4. *Convocation*, This meeting of the chapter-house summoned by writ of the Archbishop, used to be held till Wolsey's time at St. Paul's Cathedral. Prof. J. W. Hales says it was first summoned in 1295. In later times it was held at Westminster Abbey. The powers of the Convocation were much curtailed during the Reformation, but they were revived by Archbishop Laud.

P. 71, l. 5. *Chapel at Westminster*, The famous Chapel of Henry VII, where the Assembly of Divines used to meet for many years. It was first summoned by order of Parliament to meet on July 1, 1643. It was by such an assembly meeting at Westminster, that in 1645 Presbyterianism was established as the law.

P. 71, l. 6. *All the faith . . . canonized*, All the religious liturgy that shall be pronounced there to be orthodox. *Canonized* is "declared orthodox according to the rules of the church or *authorized as correct*." The word *canon* (Greek) means a *rod used as a ruler*: hence *rule* or *regulation* and is generally used of *religious* regulations. To *canonize* also meant to "enrol in the catalogue of the saints of the church." The regulations of the Assembly that met in Henry VII's Chapel provided for a Directory for Worship and Ordination, a Confession of Faith and two Catechisms. Besides these there was a form of the Presbyterian Church government agreed upon by the Assembly but not sanctioned by Parliament.

P. 71, l. 7. *Convincement*, Conviction.

P. 71, l. 8. *Supple*, (*Verb*) Make soft; heal.

P. 71, l. 9. *Edify*, Instruct. (Literally: *build up*).

P. 71, ll. 11-12. *Harry VII himself*, Henry VII is named here because he built the particular chapel where the Assembly met, and could therefore be considered its patron.

P. 71, l. 12. *With all his liege tombs about him*, With the tombs of all his loyal supporters around him. See David Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster*. Around the tomb of Henry VII are those of his mother the Lady Margaret, Queen Eliza-

beth, King James I and his Queen and later on Charles II, William III etc.

P. 71, l. 13. *Lend them voices*, Support them with their votes.

P. 71, l. 16. *Withholds*, Prevents.

P. 71, ll. 16-17. *What withhold us but our sloth that we do not give etc.*, What prevents us but our sloth from giving etc. (This is a Latin construction. In Latin after verbs of *prohibiting, preventing* etc. a negative relative, *quin*, is used, which Milton represents here by *that . . . not*.)

P. 71, ll. 22-23. *Profiting by those . . . stale receipts, etc.*, The many ways of profiting themselves by coming in contact with original minds which are not content with the learning they have received from past tradition, and master and strike out some bold line of their own and stimulate thought.

P. 71, l. 23-P. 72, l. 1. *Manage . . . world*, (Manage is from the Latin *manus* the *hand* and means *handle*.) They handle a new thought and mastering it, they present it to the world.

P. 72, l. 2. *So long as in that notion etc.*, As long as in their original idea etc.

P. 72, l. 7. *Neither among the priests . . . pharisees*, Christ constantly condemns the priests and pharisees among the Jews. See the parable of the Samaritan in *Luke X*, 30-37. Of the *Scribes* and the *Pharisees*, Christ said in *Matthew V*, 20, that "in no case would they enter the Kingdom of God." The *Pharisees* were a religious school among the Jews marked by their strict observance of the Jewish law and religious ordinances like the *Sabbath* etc., but in practical life they were hypocrites and worldly-minded. Christ's great mission was to expose such hypocrites. The term *Pharisee* is therefore often used of hypocritical orthodox men.

P. 72, l. 11. *No less than woe to us etc.*, It is really a matter of great misfortune to us that while etc.

P. 72, ll. 11-13. *While thinking thus . . . persecutors!* That while we think we are acting only in the interest of defending the scriptures; in reality we will be found to be persecuting its real advocates!

P. 72, ll. 14-15. *Since the beginning of this parliament*, i.e., since the beginning of the Long Parliament, that is, since November 3rd, 1640.

P. 72, l. 15. *Both others*, Both Presbyterians and non-Presbyterians.

P. 72, l. 16. *To the contempt of an imprimatur*, In defiance of the law requiring the sanction of the licensers for the publication of a book. (Milton himself was one of them!).

P. 72, l. 17. *Broke the triple hearts*, Broke through the cold icy barrier with which they had bound our hearts. The expression *triple ice about our hearts* is modelled upon a well-known expression used by Horace, while it also suggests a concept of Vergil. Vergil refers to the cold gathering about the heart as a sign of impending death, while Horace in his *Odes* I, 3, 9 uses the expression *aes triplex*, or *triple bronze*. It is in an ode addressed to the poet Vergil while preparing to sail for Greece. Horace says in that ode that "the man who first adventured out upon the sea, trusting himself to a flimsy bark, must have had *oak and triple bronze* (= *robur et aes triplex*) around his heart"—i.e. he must have been a very hard-hearted dare-devil! It will be remembered that Stevenson took the expression *aes triplex* as the title of one of his essays in *Virginius Puerisque*.

P. 72, l. 17. *Clung (about our hearts)*, Probably *past participle*, but if a *past tense* we have to suppose the *subject* (the Relative Pronoun *that*) is understood, as often happens in Milton. See *Paradise Lost* X, 512.

P. 72, ll. 17-18. *Taught day*, Revived the drooping spirit of the people from the cold of death (*Vide* note above to *triple ice*).

P. 72, l. 18. *None of those*, None of those very men who formerly published books without caring for censorship!.

P. 72, ll. 18-19. *Were the persuades bondage*, Advocated the restoration of this slavery upon us.

P. 72, ll. 20-21. *But if neither the check Joshua*, Milton has already referred to this matter implicitly in his previous reference to the men in the camp of Moses prophesying and to the rebuke administered to Joshua by Moses, who asked him:

"Enviest thou them?" See *Numbers*, XI, 25-29 and the notes to Paragraph 66, page 61, of the text above, where Milton speaks about *not only our seventy elders but all the Lord's people becoming prophets*.

P. 72, l. 22. *The countermand*, The forbidding Cf. *Luke IX*, 50. John (one of Christ's disciples) wanted to forbid a man who was casting out devils in the name of Christ, though he was not one of Christ's followers, when Christ replied: "Forbid him not: *for he that is not against us is for us*". The words of Christ here *italicised* are often quoted.

P. 72, l. 22. *Young John*. According to tradition he was the youngest of the twelve apostles.

P. 72, ll. 23-24. *Whom he thought unlicensed*. See note to *countermand* above and *Luke IX*, 49. John thought the man *unlicensed*, because, as he said, "He followeth not with us."

P. 72, l. 24. *Our elders* i.e. the *Presbyters*, this word is derived from the Greek *Presbyteros*, "more elderly".

P. 72, l. 25. *Testy*, Fretful: peevish, *heady* (from Old French *teste*, Modern French *Tête*, the *head*).

P. 72, l. 1. *Remembrance what evil*, Remembrance as to what evil.

P. 73, l. 2. *Let of licensing*, *Let* means hindrance: hindrance consisting in licensing Cf. the phrase: "let and hindrance". This verb *let* meaning to *hinder* is of quite different origin from the common verb *let*, to *permit*. The latter comes from A. S. *laetan*, to permit and is connected with German *lassen* and French *laisser*; while the former *let* comes from A. S. *lettan*, with which is connected the modern English adjective or adverb *late*.

P. 73, ll. 4-5. *The most Dominican . . . over us*, The most tyrannous method of the Inquisition as was pursued by the Dominican friar. The Inquisition became really more terrible, after its work was entrusted to the Dominican friar Torquemada in Spain. Milton refers to Franciscan and Dominican licensers in connection with Galileo at page 44 above.

P. 73, ll. 5-6. *With one foot in the stirrup*, Quite ready to start upon (the campaign of suppression.).

P. 73, ll. 6-10. *It would be no . . . wise*, Milton's diagnosis of the mood of mind of the Presbyterian ministers is correct and

he administers to them in these words a scolding without any reservation and one which they richly deserved. The Presbyterians in time past had growled and groaned over the censorship when it was maintained in the interest of the Anglican Church, through Anglican licensers, but now within a year after they came to power they had revived the institution they had so consistently bawled against in the past and now they worked it in their own interest to suppress all opposition to their doctrines and murder all liberty of thought and speech. *Milton threatens them here.* He tells them it would be fair and square if these people now dressed in their brief little authority in the flush of their triumph and acting so insolently were *themselves suppressed*,—as they eventually were by Oliver Cromwell. Their own experience of hardship in the past at the hands of the Anglican bishops ought to have enlightened them and taught them to be sympathetic, while the actual result had been to puff them up, their heads being turned with their success.

P. 73, l. 7. *No unequal distribution.* No unfair retribution of justice.

P. 73, l. 8. *And for regulating the press, etc.,* Milton now comes to practical politics. If the licensing system is to be stopped, what method would he suggest for regulating the press? Milton's remedy is set forth in this one paragraph. And it is nothing new. It is something which Parliament have themselves thought of and enacted in a former order, viz., that "no books be printed, unless the printer's and author's name, or at least the printer's be registered".

P. 74, l. 1. *That order,* It was passed, as would seem, about two and a half years previously. Milton's protest is against the later order of June 14th, 1643. See *Introduction*.

P. 74, ll. 3-7. *Those which otherwise . . . can use,* The syntax is apparently loose, since as regards grammar, the words *Those which* seem to be hanging in the air. But the meaning is clear. By *those which*, Milton means, *as regards those which.* As regards those books which are published otherwise (i.e. without the name of the printer, etc., being published), if it is found that they are libellous or mischievous, the best remedy is to get them burned by the common hangman.

P. 74, l. 5. *The executioner.* It was common to order obnox-

ous books to be publicly burned and this function was performed by the common hangman. This functionary not only inflicted death by way of judicial execution, but he also carried out minor punishments such as the cutting of noses and ears. The name *executioner* means the officer who *executes* the sentence pronounced by the judge. It is interesting to note that at the Restoration, some of Milton's own pamphlets, viz. the *Eikonoklastes* and the *First Defence* were publicly burnt by the hangman, pursuant to the orders of the new government.

P. 74, l. 7. *This authentic Spanish policy*, This policy of licensing which is a genuine offspring of the Inquisition in Spain. The words *authentic* and *genuine* are used as common synonyms. but originally *authentic* (from Greek *autos*, self) means something done by the person (to whom it is attributed) with *his own* hand; but now (as applied to books) it generally means something which is *warranted* true, i.e. where the facts or contents are true, while *genuine* nowadays often means, what *authentic* originally meant, viz., something done with his own hand by the person whose name it bears. Thus we have a *genuine* text, but an *authentic* history. Milton sometimes uses the word with his eye on the word *autos*, so that *authentic* comes to suggest *one's own*. Thus "authentic Spanish policy" may be explained as "Spain's own policy", i.e. truly the policy of Spain. In *Eikonoklastes*, Milton writes: "Her (i.e. of *Justice*) own authentic sword" meaning "the sword of Justice, which is peculiarly *her own*".

P. 74, ll. 8-9. *Will prove . . . short while*, How can a *policy* prove to be a *book*, licensed or unlicensed? This is rather a cryptic statement, which no annotator has explained. Probably Milton means: "This policy of licensing books will itself prove (i.e. turn out) in a short time *like* the most unlicensed book, namely *mischievous*. This policy will prove (i.e. turn out to be) *mischievous* as the most unlicensed book will prove to be *mischievous*".

P. 74, l. 9. *Immediate image*, The direct image; the direct representative.

P. 74, l. 10. *Star chamber*, The Star-Chamber Court had been the instrument of Tudor tyranny and later on of Stuart absolutism. It became notorious from the time of Henry VII. It

used to sit in a chamber in the royal apartment, the roof of which was "decked with the likeness of stars gilt". Even in the 14th and 15th centuries, the chancellor, treasurer, justices and other members of the king's council used to meet in it to exercise their jurisdiction. From this ancient beginning, Henry VII developed it into the Court of Star-Chamber. Along the High Commission Court, it was abolished in 1641 by the Long Parliament. The censorship of books was supervised by the Star-Chamber Court. Hence Milton calls the new licensing policy an "image of a star-chamber decree".

P. 74, l. 10. *To that purpose made*. Made for the very same purpose, viz. the censorship and licensing of books.

P. 74, l. 11. *Did the rest of those pious*, etc., Ironical language, "pious" being really "impious". Notice the use of the feminine "her". The Court is personified, as will be seen from what follows, and it being a palace-court, for which the Latin word is *aula*, which is feminine, in personification the court is treated as feminine; for in the case of a *Personification*, the gender was often derived from the corresponding Latin word,—as so often in Milton.

P. 74, l. 12. *She 'is fallen from the stars*. The expression "fallen from the stars" is naturally suggested in the first place by the name of the Court, viz. Star-Chamber Court, and in the second place, by the comparison with *Lucifer*.

P. 74, l. 12. *With Lucifer*. Along with Satan or like Satan. Milton is thinking of *Isaiah* XIV 11, 12, in making this comparison and describing the fall of the Star-Chamber Court. *Isaiah* is speaking of Babylon (Milton applying it to the Star-Chamber Court):—"Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols.... How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nation!" Lucifer is one of the Biblical names of Satan, as also of the Morning Star.

P. 74, ll. 16-21. *And how it got the upper hand Trade of book-selling*. Grammatically this long sentence is very clumsy, cumbersome and loose. But the meaning is clear. "The question may be asked how this new licensing ordinance got the better of your former order on the subject, which was so wise and well-founded". The answer may be found in the book-

sellers whose profession gave them a grievance. From that grievance a doubt arises whether these people were not fraudulently trying to keep up some old patent rights (i.e. copyrights) and monopolies in the book-selling trade.

P. 74, l. 17. *Precedent order*, See page 74, l. 1 and refer to note on that passage.

P. 74, l. 18. *Those men whose profession etc.*, The book-sellers and publishers,—members of the Stationers' Company.

P. 74, l. 20. *Some old patentees and monopolizers*, These book-sellers were afraid that certain privileges of their own might be encroached upon, if all restrictions on printing were taken away.

P. 74, l. 20. *Monopolizers*, See page 42, ll. 7-9.

P. 74, l. 21. *Under pretence of the poor etc.*, See page 5, ll. 24-27 and refer to note on the passage. The order of Parliament passed in June, 1643 had stated that "hereafter no book was to be printed or reprinted which had been allowed of and granted to the Company of Stationers for the relief and maintenance of their poor without leave or consent of the Master, Wardens or Assistants of the said Company."

P. 74, ll. 21-22. *The poor in their company not to be defrauded*, Under the pretence that the interest of the poor men belonging to the guild or "company" of the Stationers might suffer if books were allowed to be published without license.

P. 74, ll. 22-23. *The just retaining copy*, The preservation of the copyright over a book of the bookseller who first published it. It was feared copyright would be lost, if the book was reprinted without license, as it would be difficult to trace and prosecute the author of the reprint if his name remained in the dark.

P. 74, l. 23. *Several (copy)*, Separate copyright. Etymologically several is connected with *separate*.

P. 74, ll. 23-24. *Should be gainsaid*, Should be opposed.

P. 74, l. 24. *Diverse glozing colours*, Various specious representations, i.e. disguised misrepresentations. "Glosing" is from "glose" or "gloze" or "gloss" meaning to give a smooth, shining surface. It is different from *gloss* (*glossary*) meaning to annotate. The Latin word *color* was a rhetorical

term used to denote a highly-coloured specious argument. Cf. the title of Bacon's fragment : *Of Colours of Good and Evil*, printed in the Golden Treasury edition of Bacon's *Essays*.

P. 74, l. 24. *To the house*, i.e. in their petition to Parliament.

P. 74, l. 26. *Exercise a superiority*, Retain their claims or prerogative over other competing booksellers.

P. 74, ll. 28-29. *Men who do not . . . vassals*, (The word *men* is loosely in apposition to the word *neighbours*.) These men are therefore no longer anxious to labour in an honourable profession (*viz.* printing and publishing), to which literature has owed so much, for fear that they will have to act in subjection to these stationers.

P. 74, l. 31. *Malignant* (*books*), Anti-Parliamentary ; Royalist (*J. W. Hales*, who quotes the Tory Dr. Johnson's definition in his *Dictionary* : "It was a word used of the defenders of the church and the monarchy by the rebel sectaries in the civil wars.")

P. 74, ll. 32-33. *These sophisms and elenchies of merchandise*, These false trade considerations and arguments. *Sophisms* are sophistries, artful arguments of a deceptive character. The sophists knew how to make the "worse appear the stronger reason." *Elenches* (Greek word meaning refutation) were syllogistic arguments in which the opponent after making certain admissions is forced to refute himself. Socrates, asking question after question, often used this form of refutation. But the word is also often used loosely for any kind of argument.

P. 74, l. 33. *I skill not*, (See p. 49, para. 52, l. 17) I am not skilful enough ; I don't know about. This verb *skill* is often used *impersonally* in Elizabethan English in the phrase, "it skills not", meaning : "it does not matter" ; "it makes no difference."

P. 75, l. 2. *Almost incident*, Almost incidental i.e., likely to happen.

P. 75, l. 5. *What hath been erred*, This is rather a *Latinism* than idiomatic English. The meaning is "an error that has been committed."

P. 75, l. 5. *In highest authority*, In the case of men in highest authority.

P. 75, l. 6. *Esteem a plain advertisement*, Value plain-spoken advice or a blunt way of putting before you the facts of the case.

P. 75, ll. 7-8. *Is a virtue answerable to your highest actions*, A virtue that is in correspondence with your noble achievements. As Milton began his speech with a lofty panegyric of Parliament, he now concludes it on a panegyric note, calling their attention to their noble achievements.

P. 75, ll. 8-9. *Whereof . . . wisest men*, It is a virtue of which only the greatest and wisest men are capable,—another graceful compliment to the members of Parliament. Milton tells them, as it were in so many words, that they are among "the greatest and wisest men."

THE END

